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GDR Tank Regiment To Be Disbanded in Reduction Plan
18070623 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 30 Apr 89 p 3

[Article by S. Pomerantsev, SELSKAYA ZHIZN Berlin correspondent dated 29 April: "Farewell in Goldberg: At the Site of the Event; German Democratic Republic Has Started the Reduction of Its Armed Forces"]

[Text] This has never happened before in the history of the National People's Army of the GDR: In one of the tank units yesterday, soldiers were discharged into the reserve after serving the usual 1 and ½ years, but no new conscripts were sent to take their place. Among those discharged was Private First Class Stefen Keller, who until yesterday was the gunner of a tank crew, but who is an electric machine operator by civilian profession.

"We welcomed warmly the decision made by the GDR Government in January of this year concerning a unilateral reduction in armed forces and arms," he says. "Naturally, many asked the question: What will happen to the regiment and to us, soldier-tank crewmen? We learned later that the unit was being disbanded. The GDR is adhering strictly to a defensive doctrine. This was also demonstrated by the recent "Cycle-89" exercises. It must be assumed that the inspectors of the Bundeswehr, who also visited our regiment during the course of the exercises, were able to note their especially defensive character.

... The Mecklenburg town of Goldberg in the Shverin District. Narrow winding streets, and residents scurrying about on personal matters. But beyond the city limits, at a tank regiment disposition, there is a measured army life which, it seemed, was not disturbed either by the procession of guest-journalists from many countries, or by the other events of the day. The day before Erich Honecher, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, during his meeting with the West German politician Ernst Albrecht announced the support of the German Democratic Republic for the unilateral measures being undertaken by the Soviet Union in the disarmament sphere and reported the decision made by the GDR to send 11,500 soldiers of the NNA [National People's Army], after brief military training to the end of their service, to key facilities of the national economy. This decision supplements the system of measures that was promulgated earlier and which is based on the principle of reasonable sufficiency. In particular, it is planned by the end of 1990 to reduce NNA personnel by 10,000, to disband 6 tank units [chast] and 1 air squadron, and to remove 600 tanks and 50 combat aircraft from its armaments. The country's expenditures on defense will be reduced by 10 percent.

Implementation of these measures has been started in the tank regiment quartered near Goldberg—which is one of the six that are to be disbanded. Realistically—with a reduction in the number of personnel of the regiment and the dispatch of an echelon of 31 T-55A tanks, with weapons removed, part of which will be used in the national economy. Other tanks will go to be melted down. Symbolically—with a ceremonial formation and farewell with the demobilized soldiers. Let us listen to other participants in this event.

Lieutenant General (Horst Zuella), commander of the Neubrandenburg Military District:
The implementation of unilateral measures in the area of disarmament that has been started, along with the initiative of the Soviet Union, is proof of the fact that the GDR and its allies are not talking idly.

Karl Ioachim Hahn, chairman of an agricultural cooperative in Goldberg:
We peasants, who have something to do every day with living matter, recognize what consequences war can lead to under current conditions. Military danger should never again issue from German soil—this objective corresponds to our aspirations. But a contribution to the cause of peace cannot be made by additional arming, modernization, and rearming, but only by means of disarmament, as this was displayed here.

Lieutenant Colonel Uve Hempel, representative of the Ministry of Defense of the GDR:
Soldiers of the National People's Army, without doubt, would be happy to learn through the mass media of similar measures on the part of the Bundeswehr. ...These events rank in the same order—the start of the withdrawal of military units from the GDR, the Hungarian People's Republic, and the CSSR, and the reduction of the National People's Army of the GDR. Henceforth, an NNA tank regiment will have one battalion less, but in the fall the regiment itself will be disbanded.

There will be one less military unit on our Earth. We will note once more, not for rethoric, but for the sake of justice: The world of socialism is setting the tone for a development that is so necessary to mankind.

UN Representative Belonogov Speaks on Disarmament
LD0905224989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2150 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] New York, 10 May (TASS)—The process of disarmament is capable of effectively aiding the restructuring of the system of international relations on radically new principles when security will not be based on military power but on the restraint of international law, Aleksandr Belonogov, the USSR permanent UN representative, declared on Tuesday at the annual session of the UN Commission on Disarmament.

We are proceeding, he said, from the fact that during the current session the possibility of expanding the degree of assent between states, of building bridges between the positions of different countries and covering a significant part of the road together must be realized. The

Soviet Union is prepared to conduct talks, in a constructive spirit, on the issue which now has most priority: on the reduction of Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive weapons by 50 percent while preserving the ABM Treaty. The proposal of the Warsaw Pact member states on the beginning of talks on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe is also directed toward this.

A special role in solving the problem of reducing conventional weapons belongs to the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces and measures of trust and security in Europe. At the same time, tendencies in the development of the world situation are urgently demanding analogous action in other regions of the world as well, taking into account the specific conditions in each of them, in particular in the Asian-Pacific Ocean region.

The commission on disarmament could give a tangible impetus to the examination of the problem of the limitation and reduction of naval forces too.

The USSR representative announced that the Soviet Union will submit to the 45th session of the UN general assembly in 1990, facts about its military budget in accordance with the UN standardized accounting system.

The USSR calls for an enhancement of the UN's role in disarmament, greater activity on the part of all its mechanisms and an improvement in the method and style of their work. In this regard, support was given to the idea of holding, at the beginning of the 44th or 45th session of the UN General Assembly, a session of the Security Council at the foreign minister level.

The Soviet spokesman declared that the USSR was ready to hold, in Moscow in June 1990, together with the UN Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), an international conference on the topic "Strategic Stability and Mutual Security in the year 2000: the Role of the UN."

FRG Continues To Insist on Nuclear Weapons Talks

LD0905144689 Moscow TASS in English 1405 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] Bonn May 9 TASS—Despite the ongoing pressure from the United States, the West German Government continues to insist on talks on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. The government's intention was reaffirmed by West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher at a meeting of the Free Democratic Party in Muenster on Monday.

There are no grounds to be afraid of negotiations on short-range missiles. The idea of holding such talks was approved by NATO foreign ministers in 1987, Genscher said. He believes that all NATO allies will, eventually, throw away their precautions and will favour the beginning of such talks with the Soviet Union.

He said progress was possible at the chemical weapons talks in Geneva, being held as part of the disarmament conference, and at the Vienna talks on conventional arms. These talks should eventually lead to parity at a lower level and the elimination of the sides' capability to deliver surprise attacks. Some disarmament steps should be monitored through on-site inspection, Genscher said.

Egon Bahr, a leading disarmament expert on the SPD Bundestag group, has criticized U.S. threats on possible withdrawal of its military presence from Western Europe if its NATO allies there refuse to modernize tactical nuclear weapons. It is not written down anywhere that the United States should keep its troops in Europe 40 or 60 years after World War II. If the Americans really wanted to do so, they would have done it long ago irrespective of our opinion, Bahr said in an interview with the Deutschlandfunk radio station.

He reaffirmed the position of West German Social Democrats that all nuclear missiles should be eliminated in Europe. He suggested that a concept of nuclear tactical weapons talks be worked out by the end of the year so that such negotiations could start already next spring. The preservation of nuclear weapons in Europe would also preserve the possibility of waging a limited nuclear war, as it is provided by the NATO strategy of flexible response. What NATO does need today is a political concept of averting a nuclear war, Bahr said.

GDR's Kessler Receives Lushev, Lobov 3 May

LD0305172289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1538 GMT 3 May 89

[Text] Berlin, 3 May (TASS)—On Wednesday, Army General H. Kessler, member of the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and GDR minister of national defense, received Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy minister of defense and commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, and Army General V.N. Lobov, chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, who are in the GDR.

During the course of the conversation that took place, issues of the further strengthening cooperation between the fraternal armies were discussed.

'Realism' Shown at Social Democrat Conference

18070585 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Apr 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by I. Melnikov and V. Smelov, Vienna: "Sotsintern (Socialist International): For a Quality Dialogue"]

[Text] The conference of leaders of the Socialist International took place in Vienna on the threshold of spring. Vienna, rich in historical tradition, placed its pride—the Festive Hall of the Hofburg Palace—at the discretion of its guests. Most likely this was a gesture of hospitality on the part of the Viennese and nothing more. However, the conference organizers, who had had nothing to do with this, emphasized the dynamism and absolute power of time—representatives of 50 parties gathered within the walls of a palace from which at one time the brutal persecution of their predecessors—the founders of the first social democrat groups and unions—had unfolded.

Today, social and political processes have accelerated immeasureably and have forced us to discard the schemes that turned out to be stillborn. The social democrat movement has also experienced this. In the fall we saw many veterans with graying heads who still remember Sotsintern's unconditional acceptance of the NATO block as seemingly the only means to preserve peace and the absolute faith in the leadership role of the United States within the framework of Western society, as well as the manacing taboo on any attempt to regulate relations with communists. All of this existed, as did the intransigent attitude toward Sotsintern on the part of a number of leading communist parties.

Today, however, even if all of this has not yet become history, it is no longer considered unavoidable. A fresh wind blowing in the mid-1970's into the sails of the social democrat movement brought hopeful changes. The election of Willy Brandt to the chairmanship of Sotsintern in 1976 laid the groundwork for a change in its routine structure, which had been adapted to almost just one function—holding its own conferences and congresses. From a long-term "discussion club" the organization began to change into an initiator of important international action. Willy Brandt, with the support of well-known politicians such as F. Mitterand, O. Palme, K. Sorsa, B. Kreisky, B. Craxi, and others created specialized and regionalized commissions and committees encompassing the spheres of disarmament, world economics, ecology, and the rights of man. The documents presented by them attract the attention of the public and of governments.

This conference is strengthening this excellent tendency. East-West relations, questions on disarmament in connection with the Vienna talks in progress, the problem of developing nations—these were the topics at the center of attention of the leaders of the socialist and social democrat parties.

What does Sotsintern think about the approach to the enumerated tasks and possible solutions?

From the podium at the Hofburg it was stated on numerous occasions and convincingly that peace between East and West cannot be achieved by means of nuclear deterrent. It also cannot be achieved by means of increasing conventional weapons, the potential of which has reached a force that was unimaginable heretofore. Perhaps to a certain extent this is justified in that up until now peace was maintained as a result of the "balance of fear." However, this kind of argument, as forum participants noted, is irrational in its premise. Today it is essential not simply to achieve stability in the military sphere at the lowest possible level of conventional weapons but also to establish a climate of mutual political trust.

Most of the speakers agreed that there has been no shortage of concerete steps on the part of the Soviet Union to lead to this kind of trust. The unilateral curtailment of Soviet troops and conventional weapons is precisely proof of the fact that the USSR does not accept a strategy of military superiority, stated Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Karlsson, who was called upon to assess the new policies of Moscow realistically and without prejudice.

The intransient impulse for an East-West dialogue includes restructuring, the development of glasnost in our country, and the process of reform in other socialist countries. When Austria's federal chancellor Franz Vranitsky said that social democrats welcome restructuring and support steps that promote pluralism of opinion and an increase in the effectiveness of the economy, it was clear by the reaction of the audience that this position was shared by the representatives of many parties.

It was noted at the conference that Sotsintern must help support the development of a quality dialogue between East and West.

When the subject of disarmament was discussed, in the hall one could sense the spirit of the Vienna talks on conventional weapons and measures to strengthen trust and security that had begun several days before. This spirit could be sensed literally, as only one palace corridor separated the two forums from each other. It could also be sensed in terms of a carry-over; in the opinion of Sotsintern the talks are capable of opening a new chapter in international politics. However, optimism did not prevent difficulties on the discussion path. It is no accident that one of the speakers called the Vienna talks "an era of great opportunities and great questions."

What else was notable in the discussions on disarmament? Many politicians (let us note among them first and foremost two former prime ministers—Italy's V. Craxi and Finland's K. Sorsa) insisted on expanding the process of East-West disarmament, proposing to broaden the framework of the Vienna talks.

The realism of the approach was felt in the discussion on the concluding theme—the problem of developing countries. Whereas during the 1970's the leaders of Sotsintern too insistently proposed, to put it mildly, that the "third world" copy the only possible model, that of "democratic socialism," today it has an understanding attitude toward national characteristics and distinctive social conflicts.

At the conference transnational corporations were blamed for the fact that Africa and Latin America are groaning under the unbearable burden of debt that impedes investment and imports which could have guaranteed development and the growth of work slots for the rapidly growing populations of these continents.

After the conference Sotsintern chairman W. Brandt answered our questions. Touching on the theme of the succession of generations in the Socialist International, on the ability of the younger generation to dynamically continue the development of East-West relations, he made a positive assessment of the near and distant future. Having noted once more that relations between East and West have entered a new phase, W. Brandt ascertained that these dynamics will be continued. Relations between Sotsintern and Eastern Europe have areas in common, including, first and foremost, the questions of disarmament and strengthening international security.

In assessing the potential of the Vienna talks, our collocuter said:

"It was difficult to expect that the process directed at achieving progress in disarmament would proceed at such a rapid pace. I feel that by the year 2000 stability can be achieved in Europe in the area of a low level of conventional weapons. Today one of the most important tasks is to move toward eliminating asymmetry and strengthening mutual trust. Social democrats support effective steps to curtail the military arsenal and are against any kind of military compensation for weapons systems that are eliminated as a result of international contracts."

Gerasimov Conducts News Briefing 10 May

Announces Shevardnadze FRG Visit

LD1005121389 Moscow TASS in English 1205 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 10 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will visit West Germany on a working visit on May 12-13, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a news briefing today.

One of the main issues to be raised at the Bonn negotiations, he added, will be preparations for the Soviet-West German summit meeting to be held from June 12 to 15. It will focus on a draft of the joint political document and new agreements to extend bilateral cooperation.

Outlines Shevardnadze-Baker Talks

LD1005132489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1245 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Moscow 10 May (TASS)—USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has described his talks with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, who arrived today, as complex, important, and responsible, it was announced at a briefing here today by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate at the USSR Foreign Ministry. The Soviet side, he emphasized, pins great hope on them.

The two sides, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman continued, expressed support for maintaining the principle of continuity in relations between the two sides and expressed their readiness to enrich these relations. There is hope, Gerasimov said, that specific and constructive results will be achieved.

He announced that at the morning session, in its narrow composition, matters of regional conflicts were raised at the request of the U.S. side. The Soviet side agreed with the U.S. view that regional conflicts influence the overall state of relations between the USSR and the United States, and that there is a certain organic link between regional conflicts and the other problems under discussion. Resolving regional conflicts enables the two sides to put an end to remnants of the "cold war" and to put confrontational approaches behind them if these conflicts are approached not as a phenomenon relating to Soviet-U.S. rivalry, but in the spirit of the new approaches and of cooperation in resolving such conflicts.

The Soviet minister noted that in the process of restructuring, which includes the USSR's foreign policy, particularly striking changes have occurred in Soviet-U.S. relations, Gerasimov said. Insofar as these relations play a very considerable role in influencing the international climate, they should be treasured. A favorable atmosphere for further progress is developing.

There was also discussion of President George Bush's trip to Poland and Hungary, which James Baker announced. U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney's unfavorable prognosis regarding the restructuring taking place in the USSR was discussed. It was remarked that this prognosis is the secretary's personal opinion and does not reflect the U.S. Administration's viewpoint.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman noted that much time was devoted to discussion of the conflict in Central America. Points of agreement were identified in the viewpoints of the sides. The Soviet side noted a new element in the U.S. position—the rejection of attempts to overthrow the Nicaraguan Government. As the U.S. secretary of state put it, in this sphere both sides must rid themselves of old thinking. The sides noted that there is a reasonable [neplokhaya] basis for developing the dialogue on the problems of a settlement in Central America. The problem of Afghanistan also was discussed at the first session.

Answering correspondents' questions about the U.S. President's trip to Poland and Hungary, Gennadiy Gerasimov said: "The Soviet Union considers trips by statesmen to be a very positive phenomenon.... Contacts favor the construction of the "general European home." Consequently, the Soviet side has and can have no objections to President Bush's plans to visit the two East European countries.... The split in Europe, the division of Europe, is possibly one of the biggest mistakes of our predecessors."

Notes Further Baker-Shevardnadze Talks

LD1005144989 Moscow TASS in English 1429 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 10 TASS—A second round of Soviet-American talks with the participation of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker took place this afternoon in the Soviet Foreign Ministry's mansion in Aleksey Tolstoy street.

The groups of experts on disarmament, regional questions, bilateral relations, humanitarian issues and on global or "transnational" problems will continue to work till late in the evening and will be completed tomorrow morning.

Eduard Shevardnadze described the talks with the U.S. secretary of state, who came to the Soviet Union today, as complex, important and responsible, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of Soviet Foreign Ministry, said at briefing today. The Soviet side, Shevardnadze stressed, has high hopes for these talks.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman identified as an important circumstance the fact that the Soviet and American sides spoke out for maintaining the principle of continuity in relations between the two states and expressed a readiness to enrich these relations with new facets.

"There is hope," Gerasimov further stated, "that the talks will result in specific and constructive accomplishments".

Belonogov Discusses UN Namibia, Afghan Debates
PM0905143189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[Interview in New York with U.N. representative A.M. Belonogov by own correspondent V. Linnik: "Great Responsibility. The UN Security Council and International Problems"; date not given; first two paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] New York, May—Last month was a very full month for UN activity. At the very beginning of April the Security Council held a round of closed consultations on Namibia and then, at the request of the Afghan Government, it discussed the situation that has taken shape in that country in connection with Pakistan's increasing military interference.

And all this is in addition to a number of other urgent matters with which this UN organ has had to concern itself. What can be said about the work that has been done, and can one speak of a growing UN role in settling international problems? I put these questions to A.M. Belonogov, Soviet representative to the United Nations and who acted as chairman of the UN Security Council in the month of April.

[Belonogov] The Security Council was in session more last month than in the whole of the 3 previous months put together. April 1 was the day the Namibian operation began. At the same time, the situation in Namibia itself worsened considerably. This was caused by the fact that a series of armed clashes flared up between South-West African People's Organization [SWAPO] fighters and Republic of South Africa [RSA] security forces.

It is well known that it was planned to station UN personnel in Namibia in stages. In particular, the military contingent was to be deployed over a period of 6 weeks. Consequently, as of 1 April there was just a handful of UN forces there. They were not able to control the situation on the border.

The Security Council was very concerned about helping to normalize the situation. Therefore, the rate at which UN forces were deployed in Namibia was greatly accelerated. The schedule was revised and by the end of April the entire contingent was in place, although it had come from various countries. We are talking about 4,000 military servicemen and 300 military observers. In addition to this, approximately 150 UN policemen have now been moved into Namibia.

The United Nations has been given great practical assistance by the sessions of the joint commission on South-West Africa, which incorporates representatives of Cuba, Angola, the RSA, and, in the capacity of observers, the Soviet Union and the United States. The conflict between SWAPO and the RSA is not completely over, but an agreement in principle has been reached on ways of resolving the conflict.

[Linnik] How is command of the military contingent in Namibia being implemented in practice? Who is actually responsible for it?

[Belonogov] The UN secretary general is responsible for the entire operation and has appointed his own special representative to Namibia. In addition to him, there is also the commander of the military contingent there. It is they who maintain contacts with the local administration, which is still represented by RSA officials at present.

[Linnik] I would like to move on to the Security Council discussions of the Afghan situation—in my view, the most important problem that the UN has touched on this year.

[Belonogov] I quite agree with that opinion. The point is that the Security Council has essentially never before dealt with the Afghan problem. Only once, when the question of instituting a mechanism to monitor the observance of the Geneva accords was being discussed, did the Security Council have to become involved. However, it was only a question of instituting the UN observers' group that is currently working in the territory of Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Afghanistan's request that the Security Council discuss Pakistan's interference in the country's affairs was both appropriate and timely. It had been expected that, after the withdrawal of the Soviet military contingent from Afghanistan, Pakistan and the United States—which until then had always cited the presence of our troops there as the main cause of tension in that country—would review their approach to the Afghan problem. Unfortunately, this has not been the case. In the last 2 months, we have witnessed a rapid increase in Pakistan's interference in Afghan affairs. The world press has written about this.

[Linnik] I noticed that in the delegates' speeches instances of Pakistani military interference were mainly cited from Western press reports. Why was that?

[Belonogov] The debate had special features. The point is that the United States and Pakistan did not want any discussion of the Afghan problem in the Security Council, and that they did everything they could to curtail the debate. The Pakistanis flatly rejected the speech by Afghan Foreign Minister 'A. Wakil, in which he quoted facts attesting to Pakistan's interference in Afghan affairs. Several hundred complaints from the Afghan Government to UN observers concerning specific instances of Pakistani violations of the Geneva accords were distributed in the Security Council as an official document.

Under these conditions, it was perfectly logical to address the cases of Pakistani interference cited in the Western mass media. After all, the Western press cannot be suspected of trying to "defame" Pakistan or cast aspersions on U.S. policy.

Everyone realizes that Stingers and Blowpipes [missiles] do not grow on trees outside Jalalabad. So how do they get there? Via Pakistani territory. And the use of Pakistani territory is clearly prohibited under the Geneva accords.

Despite U.S. and Pakistani attempts to curtail the debate, the sessions were addressed by about 40 people. The overwhelming majority spoke out in favor of ending the bloodshed in Afghanistan as quickly as possible. Only the Saudi representative urged the diehard opposition to continue its "jihad."

The point of the Security Council sessions on the Afghan problem was to give a clear, unambiguous signal to the Pakistani Government and to military circles in that country that the international community expects them to change their course in relation to Afghanistan. In that sense the Security Council sessions were a warning. If the situation requires it, the Security Council will return to this problem.

[Linnik] What will happen if, encouraged by its patrons, Pakistan chooses to ignore this warning?

[Belonogov] International public opinion does carry weight. It is hard today to defend an unjust cause. And morally—this, incidentally, was very noticeable at the Security Council—those representatives who had to say things they knew to be untrue felt extremely uncomfortable.

We tried to formulate the official position of the Security Council in the form of a statement by the council chairman. But that attempt failed due to U.S. opposition, for the Security Council has a rule that the permanent members must unanimously be in agreement.

We advocated that the UN secretary general do his utmost to galvanize his peacemaking mission concerning Afghanistan. This is also a lever for bringing pressure to bear on Pakistan and the diehard opposition. The secretary general also has certain opportunities to promote the development of inter-Afghan dialogue.

Overall, as was pointed out in a statement by the USSR Foreign Ministry, the international community can now clearly see as never before where the threat to peace originates in this important Asian region and who is to blame for the continuing destabilization of the situation. It must have its own weighty say on the subject and take action to prevent a dangerous new turn of events.

Victory Day, European Relations Discussed

LD1005080989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 9 May 89

["Europe, Our Common Home" program, presented by Viktor Nikolayevich Levin, all-union radio commentator; with Vataliy Vladimirovich Zhurkin, director of the Europe Institute and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and political observer Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin]

[Text] Hello, respected comrades. Today, on Victory Day, we very naturally remember the events of 44 years ago, the long-awaited peace that came to our land and to Europe, and at the same time—and this is also very natural—we turn our gaze to the future, analyze the present situation, and reflect not only how good it is that for the past 44 years there has been no war in Europe, but also what should and must be done to ensure that peace should become truly stable, lasting, reliable, and eternal in Europe.

[Shishlin] I think, Viktor Nikolayevich, that this time when we celebrate Victory Day we can say with satisfaction that a time of change for the better has come to Europe. It seems to me that 1989 itself will considerably enrich that trend and is already enriching that trend toward the improvement of European relations. I am starting on a major note because there is reason to do so. I have in mind the enormous work done by the European socialist countries to improve European relations: I have in mind our country's activities, especially the significant visit that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev paid to Great Britain; I have in mind the program that we know of for the coming months—visits are planned for the Federal Republic of Germany and for France. A great deal of political work is going on to ensure that the European home should become a peaceful home, comfortable for all its inhabitants. Although, when speaking about these positive trends none of us is entitled to lose sight of the fact that far from everything is as yet harmonious in Europe and those ideals that inspired the soldiers who fought fascism 44 years ago have not all yet been achieved. Because, of course, Europe can be better, European relations can be improved, and European links can and should be more fruitful. In this regard, it may well be worth our while to talk a little about what Europe

looks like in the political, economic, and spiritual sense in respect of the development of relations. Perhaps from that angle it's worth talking about political relations in Europe.

[Levin] The border that lies between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, the border between the socialist and capitalist countries in Europe, is today a very weighty factor in the general European situation that came about after World War II and as a result of it. We all remember full well how the very recognition of these same results of World War II was by no means simple or easy to win, and it was only in 1970 that the treaties between the Soviet Union and the FRG, and Poland and the FRG began to stabilize the situation and to constitute a recognition of realities.

Incidently, I should like to point out this element. Nowadays we very often, and quite rightly, criticize past foreign policy, including that of the Soviet Union, and point to missed opportunities. These probably are missed opportunities in Europe, too, but at the same time, throughout the postwar years, in the Soviet Union's European policy we can see quite clearly the trend toward consolidating peace and security. Today, when we are talking about the general European home and about adding specific content to the accords reached at the All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation, it is not superfluous to recall that the very idea of convening that conference came from the Soviet Union. That reflects both our concern to secure a stable peace in Europe and our desire to make our contribution to the political development of Europe. Today, of course, that development is not comparable with what was happening even, as I said, in 1970. But in the past 4 years particularly tangible progress has been made, and I would like the emphasize that this progress was made not only by the Soviet Union, but also by the other socialist countries, and because we have begun to talk about that very sensitive demarcation line between the Warsaw Pact organization and NATO, which coincides with the border between the GDR and the FRG, we should note the considerable progress that has been made in normalizing relations between the two German states. The German Democratic Republic is conducting a very consistent policy, and the Federal Republic of Germany has, I think, in recent times also been closer to realism than was previously the case. After all, the confrontation between these states, and I would even say the FRG's total hostility toward the GDR, persisted very long even in the seventies. Now, that has unfortunately not receded into the past, but there are very encouraging elements.

[Shishlin] As you were saying about relations between the FRG and the GDR, the logical division between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, I caught myself thinking that 1989 is the first time that we have celebrated Victory Day when the number of foreign troops on alien territories in Europe is not increasing but falling; falling thanks to the position adopted by the Warsaw Pact countries. And the Warsaw Pact countries are giving here a striking example of boldness, of a creative approach to the solution of urgent European problems. I think that the very fact of the withdrawal of a part of the Soviet forces from the European socialist states bears an enormous political significance. It is a sign of those profound changes knocking at the door of the European home, and which have, in fact, already reached the European home. I also think that in essence, the period that we describe as the postwar period is now ending. A new period is opening, one that we may perhaps call the period of building the general European home. You did well to recall the treaties that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries concluded with the FRG. It is right to recall at this time the start of the Helsinki process and the idea of convening the All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation and the work of that conference, and, of course, Vienna, which quite simply raised the entire European process to a new level, which genuinely opens up the prospect of establishing such relations in Europe that may, with every justification, be called harmonious, advanced, truly good-neighborly, and friendly.

But of course, the road toward smoothing political relationships in Europe is not easy. Just now, for instance, there are very sharp political quarrels, very sharp political debates as to the future of the swollen military arsenals in Europe. And the socialist countries including, of course, the Soviet Union, are taking a completely clear position in favor of evening out levels of conventional armaments and armed forces and then reducing them sharply. And in particular, as our listeners know, there are particularly sharp debates at present over the future of tactical nuclear weapons. In essence, the socialist countries and the Soviet Union are offering the west a third zero. In other words, we are suggesting that to the zero for missiles of intermediate range and less, we should add a zero for tactical nuclear weapons.

What is the West's position? Well this time the West's position is far from united. Regarding Great Britain and the United States, they advocate the modernization of their tactical nuclear weapons, they seek to provide themselves with the new better-quality and long-range Lance missiles, and they don't want to hear about eliminating tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. As for, say, the Federal Republic of Germany, they consider that now is not the time to undertake the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons. And West Germany is not alone in this stance: The Belgians, the Danes, the Greeks, and the Norwegians also basically take a similar stance, and this problem will be discussed at the forthcoming session of the NATO Council in May. True, I think that of course NATO will manage to reach agreement on the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons, but I do not think they will be able to reach agreement on the fulfillment and immediate implementation of these plans.

[Levin] this is a very acute issue and, you know, it seems to me that behind this issue lies a fundamental difference in approach to European politics as a whole on the part of the various western states. We are all well aware that

in the opinion of Prime Minister Thatcher of Great Britain—and this opinion enjoys fairly wide currency in the West, is shared by many politicians—44 years of peace in Europe, these years of peace have been ensured by the presence of nuclear weapons. Moreover, here she—or the supporters of this theory—has a very simple way of reasoning: When there were no nuclear weapons there was never such a long period of peace in Europe; nuclear weapons appeared and here you have already 44 years in which we have been living in peace, and now the prospect is that this process of peaceful coexistence in Europe will continue. And it would be fairly risky, frankly, simply to say no, it is not so, because there are many components to the present peaceful period in Europe. But if we look ahead it seems to me that a number of very important questions arises here. For nuclear weapons are regarded by the Americans and by the British, and not only by them but by NATO generally, as a means of deterring a potential aggressor. By potential aggressor they mean the Warsaw Pact.

[Zhurkin] Yes indeed, at the basis of the Western approach lies the concept of deterrence, or the concept of restraint—however this word is translated—and at its basis of course is restraint with the aid of the threat of the use of nuclear weapons. Undoubtedly, this is diametrically opposed to our approach, to our idea of a nuclear-free Europe and in the final analysis a nuclear-free world. Of course, the issue is whether any small bridges can be built between these two opposing approaches or not. It seems to me that the situation here is not without a way out, especially if we are talking about a period like the next 3, 5, or 7 years. Take, for example, the Soviet-U.S. talks on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons by 50 percent. The Soviet Union has not made these talks conditional upon the United States agreeing in advance to a nuclear-free world. We have not demanded this. We have now agreed to work towards a 50-percent reduction.

It seems to me that if there is discussion at the talks on the reduction of, say, tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, in the first stages the discussion will be about some sort of quantities. And in the final analysis in the West there is the idea of so-called minimal restraint. We can regard this minimal restraint as, if you like, the last stage before a nuclear-free world, or, that is, the penultimate stage. We could certainly move up to this penultimate stage hand in hand, and it is no coincidence that in general this idea of talks on the need to start negotiations on the reduction of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe is supported not only by the Federal Republic but also by an ever-growing number of NATO members, and even today by the majority of NATO members—this idea which was put to the West by the Warsaw Pact.

[Shishlin] I don't know. Vitaliy Vladimirovich, you have heard of such an idea, although it has perhaps not yet gained such wide currency—the idea that the matter can be helped by the organization of, I would say, a total monitoring of military activity, complete openness of military activity, whether that of NATO or of the Warsaw Pact. This concerns the contemporary state of armed forces, it concerns their military plans, it concerns the steps which are being taken to bring the two blocs' structures into strict accordance with a purely defensive concept. It seems to me that this total monitoring can in itself create that climate of trust in the conditions of which practical steps to curtail either tactical nuclear weapons or conventional arms will of course prove to be more accessible and easier.

[Zhurkin] Nikolay Vladimirovich, it seems to me that this is a very promising, a very promising, idea, the more so that when we talk about a growth of trust, the growth of trust is a process. Five years ago we had a 100-percent mistrust of each other. Today elements of trust have appeared. Years and years and years are still needed for trust to develop. This whole process, therefore, must be seen as a dynamic process. And this total monitoring of military activity, or checking of military activity, it seems to me—or this general transparency, as we sometimes speak of the transparency of military coalitions—it seems to me it is very much becoming part of the concept of the new political thinking.

[Shishlin] Of course the biggest problem of all for Europeans now is nevertheless the enrichment of mutual economic relations, the enrichment of economic cooperation, because here there are two pictures. Unfortunately these pictures are a little against us. One picture is Western Europe, where the process of integration is growing stronger. The other picture is our own, the CEMA picture, where there is also a process of integration, but it is sluggish, simply because of objective difficulties. And the similarity of aims of the socialist countries, the very strcture of their economies, the state of their finances and many other economic instruments unfortunately do not allow us to go as deep or as far as the Common Market countries are able to: In 1992 they plan to create a whole territory effectively without borders, where there will be free movement of people, capital, services, and goods. In that sense, of course, the work of the Europe Institute which you head will probably help us in the realm of putting forward some new daring ideas in order to enrich the European home.

[Levin] And in the realm of building a common European home, we have used this term several times today.

[Zhurkin] God willing. You know, Nikolay Vladimirovich, I would only like to add to what you have said the fact that on the whole a truly paradoxical situation has come regarding economic cooperation. For decades it has been asserted by us and in the West that economic cooperation is the easiest part of the interaction between East and West. There have always been problems with talks on arms reduction, on confidence building measures....

[Levin, interrupting] On human rights.

[Zhurkin] Not to mention human rights. But the economy always seemed an easy, noble, and calm matter. But today, because of those processes which are developing in Western

Europe, above all, the situation with economic cooperation may be difficult. Although, on the other hand, if one can think out loud a little, by the end of 1992 there will arise this single internal market of the 12 countries of Western Europe—incidentally, a huge conglomeration. The gross national product there will be approximately equal to the U.S. one and will be considerably more than the Japanese and our Soviet one. So this Common Market will be created. Well, what will they do? Will they, say, fence themselves off with barriers from the United States and Japan, that is from the two current basic leaders in scientific and technical progress? They will not dare to embark on this course. Will they, say fence themselves off with barriers from the developing countries, by which they are linked by thousands of bonds, although there will be problems? Will they fence themselves off with impassable barriers from their traditional source of raw material, their partner in economic cooperation and, of course, a very big potential market in the East? So I think that there are grounds for alarm here, but on the other hand there are grounds to hope for the better. But on the other hand, of course, this process of integration which is going on at an accelerated pace in Western Europe throws down one of its challenges to us. We must accelerate restructuring, not only in the Soviet Union but also in the CEMA. We must move more actively. And if we are talking about the common European home, then classical formulas are applicable here—that is the economic foundation of the common European home, because without economic foundations, of course....

[Levin,interrupting] We can build walls with transparent windows for monitoring military activity, but if there are no foundations, if it is built on sand, it will not last long. But you were right to note that, Vitaliy Vladimirovich, and I also noted that Western politicians say: We don't want to fence ourselves off from anyone. They will not fence themselves off, but what can we offer? That is the question.

[Zhurkin] This is yet one more pressure upon us and upon our allies in Eastern Europe, and in general terms it is a pressure to which one's attitude cannot be negative.

[Levin] It is a stimulus for action.

[Zhurkin] It requires that things be modernized more rapidly, it requires that we develop scientific and technical progress more rapidly, develop more rapidly new forms of cooperation between East and West, embark upon these more boldly. It is a stimulus for cooperation, yes.

[Levin] At the beginning of our discussion, as you remember, we asked three questions: that we examine the political situation in Europe, economic cooperation, and the sphere of cultural contact. We still have that question left.

[Shishlin] Without culture, without cultural ties, without that common spiritual font of the Europeans. The thing is that the Europeans have to know each other well; they have to have a good idea of each other's culture, they have to have a good knowledge of each other's history. This will help them to find together a sensible path toward the construction of what we call the common European home. There musn't be any shade of arrogance with regard to culture, there mustn't be any shade of arrogance with regard to any state: Europe, which is so diverse, so varied, so multifaceted, is indeed so fine on account of its diversity, its variety, and its unique contribution to human civilization. And it seems to me that this particular area, unlike the economy—where of course you have to have imagination and courage and new methods of working and simply titanic efforts in your own home—well, as far as getting spiritual knowledge is concerned, here we have to work and work. I can share with you one thing that I have observed that comes from Finland. In Finland there is a region that is known as Lapland. It is beyond the Arctic Circle. It is an amazingly beautiful country, and there is a town there call Rovaniemi. It is not a large town by our standards, quite a tiny one, I think there are about 15,000 inhabitants there.

[Levin] About 20,000.

[Shishlin] But, where do the Finns invite you to in Rovaniemi? The first place is the town's library, built by famous Finnish architects in Rovaniemi. I think (Alto) is the architect of this library. It is the most visited place in the town. From that library you can contact any library in the world. You can get an immediate photocopy of the book or the document that you need. The impression is fantastic. Of course, the technical possibilities that exist today for links in the spiritual field are quite simply enormous.

[Zhurkin] Nikolay Vladimirovich, you have said that it is a beautiful country with wonderful natural scenery, and I thought that perhaps we should widen our list somewhat: A most important fourth area for the common European home, of course, is the ecologicial sphere, the sphere that concerns the protection of the environment. For a long time we considered it to be a subdivision of the economy and economic cooperation, but in fact it is something more than that; it is no doubt part of the cooperation in the field of civilization, if one can put it in those terms. The economy, culture, and politics also intersect here, and the ecological situation in Europe is indeed very difficult at the present time. The situation remains difficult, and where priorities are concerned ecological problems are perhaps pushing themeselves forward all the time and squeezing out....

[Levin, interrupting] Where the capital intensity is concerned, too.

[Zhurkin] Where capital intensity is concerned, yes. One has to state honestly that we—not just the Soviet Union, but also the countries of Eastern Europe, do not have the best reputation here in all matters. There are some areas where things are indeed not at all bad for us, but if one takes issues such as air pollution and the pollution of water, rivers, and seas, then an enormous amount of work must be carried out—a whole series of decisions on protecting the environment, at the Vienna meeting. A

large meeting is being planned in Sofia, the Bulgarian capital, on these issues. The idea that sulphur discharges should be reduced by 30 percent over a period of several years was supported, which represents a huge difficulty and an unusually difficult finanacial task. However, this measure is a necessary one, and in general, Europe is perhaps in a position to provide an example for the rest of the world. If the progress is made here it will no doubt be a major and very important contribution by European civilization to the resolution of global human problems.

[Levin] We see that Europe is today facing some very great and crucial tasks. However, it is the times themselves that dictate tne priorities to which we have given special attention: ecology, the economy, cultural ties, and humanitarian ties. We are proceeding from the fact that peace in Europe—and on Victory Day it is natural that we should talk about this first—we are proceeding from the fact that we consider peace in Europe to have been fairly well ensured and that prospects for strengthening peace in Europe appear to be very encouraging. Therefore, we are able to count on other problems—problems of cooperation, and of constructing a common European home—being amenable to solutions; that is what one can already say. One of the main tasks facing Europe today was described quite well by FRG Foreign Minister Genscher. He said: The task is not one of modernizing armaments but rather one of modernizing thinking. If that happens—and it is naturally a lengthy process that requires enormous efforts and huge actions by different sides—then the solution of the tasks that face Europe will be made easier.

[Shishlin] Viktor Nikolayevich, I think that when we are speaking of European affairs—and doing so quite rightly in connection with this solemn date—I think we must have a clear idea of the fact that the destiny of the whole world depends to a large extent on how things go in Europe. In this respect Europe's movement forward means the progress of the worldwide process. It seems to me that in itself the trend toward an improvement in international relations that is gaining strength in Europe now requires constant attention and unrelenting efforts. In this connection—although I understand that our time is running out—I would like to say just a couple of words at least about the upcoming visit to the PRC by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

This is a great event in the entire international process, and it seems to me that the complete normalization of Soviet-PRC relations—and this is already close at hand—will be a decisive contribution to the great cause in the name of which the peoples fought during the years of struggle against fascism and during the years of the struggle against Japanese militarism.

[Levin] It remains for us to greet you once again, esteemed comrades, on this holiday and to wish you all the very best. Goodbye, and all the best.

United States & Canada

U.S. Secretary of State Baker Visits Moscow

Leaves Helsinki for Moscow

LD1005052189 Moscow TASS in English 0518 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Helsinki May 10 TASS—U.S. Secetary of State James Baker left Helsinki for Moscow today. On his way from the U.S., he made a two-day stop in the Finnish capital to meet President Mauno Koivisto and other Finnish officials.

Arrives in Moscow

LD1005072789 Moscow TASS in English 0714 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 10 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker arrived in Moscow on an official visit today in accordance with the agreement reached earlier.

From Sheremetyevo Airport he headed for the mansion of the USSR Foreign Ministry on Aleksey Tolstoy Street to meet Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. Soviet-U.S. talks will start later.

The meeting in Moscow, which will be wound up by Baker's news conference at the Foreign Ministry Press Centre on Thursday, will continue a search for mutually acceptable solutions on the entire range of issues, including arms control, bilateral relations and human rights. Mikhail Gorbachev is expected to receive James Baker tomorrow.

As Eduard Shevardnadze stressed in his recent interview with the TIME magazine, the Soviet and American sides can, as the international community expects it, not only to preserve but also to develop everything positive that has been accumulated in Soviet-U.S. relations in the past three to four years, to create the necessary dynamics for progress at the talks. [sentence as received]

Begins Meeting With Shevardnadze

LD1005090689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] The Soviet-U.S. talks between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, began today with a meeting in a USSR Foreign Ministry residence. This is the first visit to the Soviet Union by the new head of the U.S. State Department since the Bush administration came to power. It is expected that the search for mutually acceptable solutions to a whole range of questions, including arms control, bilateral relations, and human rights, will be continued.

Eduard Shevardnadze, who was the first to arrive at the house on Aleksey Tolstoy Street, warmly greeted the assembled journalists and said he hopes the meeting will be successful. U.S. Secretary of State James Baker also expressed hopes for successful talks.

Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, first deputy USSR foreign minister, told a TASS correspondent that tete-a-tete talks are generally used to discuss general questions of the state of bilateral relations and to agree on a program for the work of the forthcoming 2 days, when the meeting will continue in a different form, with the participation of experts and a wider circle of advisers. In other words, the intensive negotiations will begin then.

The agenda includes, first and foremost, issues of security, of arms reductions, affecting both strategic and conventional arms, of nuclear tests, of chemical weapons, and of the situation in Europe.

Regional problems will be examined, above all the situation in the Near East and Afghanistan, Central America, Cambodia, and so on.

There will also be an opportunity for a chat on the state of bilateral ties in the economic, cultural, and humanitarian areas.

A new theme has appeared in our discussions, said Comrade Bessmertnykh. It concerns global, or transnational problems—ecology, drugs, crime—representing a kind of fifth basket in the normal agenda. During the plenary session that will take place immediately following the face-to-face meeting, traditional working groups will be set up to deal with the main problems under discussion. They will work simultaneously with the talks between the ministers.

Meeting With Shevardnadze Ends

LD1005105289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1005 GMT 10 May 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, 10 May (TASS)—The plenary session of Soviet-U.S. talks has ended. It took place immediately following the private meeting between USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. At the session the foreign ministers announced their decision to set up working groups.

The group in charge of disarmament questions is headed by Viktor Karpov, deputy USSR foreign minister, and Reginald Bartholomew, U.S. undersecretary of state for security assistance, science and technology. The group in charge of regional questions is headed by Vladimir Polyakov, head of the Near East and Central Africa department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, and Dennis Ross, director of the Political Planning Staff of the State Department. The group in charge of bilateral relations is headed by Viktor Sukhodrev, deputy head of the United States and Canada Department of the USSR Foreign

Ministry, and by Tom Simons, deputy assistant U.S. secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs. The group in charge of transnational problems is headed by Yuriy Rybakov, head of the International Legal Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry; Boris Mayorskiy, first deputy head of the Department of Scientific and Technological Cooperation of the USSR Foreign Ministry; and by Tom Simons. The group in charge of humanitarian questions is headed by Yuriy Reshetov, head of the Department of Humanitarian Questions and Human Rights of the USSR Foreign Ministry, and by Richard Shifter, U.S. assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs.

Tomorrow, midday, the heads of the groups will present their reports to Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker during the second plenary session of the Soviet-U.S. meeting. [passage omitted]

It is expected that Mikhail Gorbachev will receive the U.S. secretary of state tomorrow morning.

Meets People's Deputies

LD1005151289 Moscow TASS in English 1416 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 10 TASS—By TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent Vadim Biryukov:

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker met today with a group of people's deputies at the American ambassador's Spaso House residence.

Speaking to journalists before the meeting, the American official explained his wish to talk with Soviet parliamentarians by the interest in the election campaign, now drawing to an end in the Soviet Union, which has shown that this country is witnessing changes that can hardly be described as merely cosmetic.

Baker congratulated research worker Ilya Zaslavskiy, playwright Aleksandr Gelman, and Science and Production Amalgamation Deputy General Manager Viktor Yaroshenko on their election victories.

Asked by an American journalist whether he would like to give his advice on how to conduct an election campaign, the secretary of state replied that it would be more correct if the Soviet guests share their own experience.

Replying to a question about his assessment of the results of the morning session in the Soviet-American talks, Baker said that he was pleased with the results even though one has to wait more before making final conclusions.

The meeting with the deputies was closed to press representatives.

U.S. Embassy Press Attache Richard Gilbert told the TASS diplomatic correspondent that the choice of deputies elected to the meeting does not reflect any specific interest of the American side.

The fact that they are rank-and-file deputies makes them interesting to the U.S. secretary of state, the diplomat replied.

Baker arrived on an official visit here today at the Soviet Government's invitation.

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is expected to receive the American official tomorrow. Before his departure from the Soviet Union, Baker is planning to hold a news conference on the results of his trip.

Soviet Agenda for Baker Talks Outlined

LD1005081989 Moscow TASS in English 0804 GMT 10 May 89

[Commentary by TASS diplomatic correspondent Vadim Biryukov]

[Text] Moscow May 10 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent Vadim Biryukov:

James Baker, the U.S. secretary of state, arrived in Moscow today for an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

It is expected in the Soviet Union that the current visit will contribute to the further development of Soviet-American relations. There is a good basis for this—the INF Treaty, dozens of agreements on bilateral cooperation concluded in recent years, joint efforts to settle regional conflicts.

"Contacts are rather slack at present", the correspondent was told by Aleksey Obukhov, chief of the U.S. and Canada Department of the Soviet Foreign Minister. "The new U.S. Administration has taken time out to analyse its foreign policy priorities. And this is natural. But now it is necessary to step up the negotiations process in all directions. I hope that James Baker's visit will result in precisely this."

During Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with George Bush in New York last September the sides had agreed on a very important principle of constructive continuity in Soviet-American relations. The task today is to advance in accordance with this principle, to be guided by it and to fill it with concrete content. Proceeding from this, the Soviet side is preparing for serious, comprehensive negotiations with James Baker on the widest range of questions: disarmament, consolidation of security, settlement of regional conflicts, problems of humanitarian cooperation, bilateral relations. We could add to this questions of combating narcomania and terrorism, protection of the environment.

It goes without saying that the treaty on strategic offensive armaments will be the key topic of the Soviet-American meeting in Moscow. The Soviet side comes out for the earliest resumption of negotiations on nuclear and space armaments. The more so, since much has been achieved in this area and corresponding draft documents have been drawn up. Much depends today on the "luggage", pertaining to this problem, with which the U.S. secretary of state has come to Moscow.

Replying to questions of the TIME magazine on prospects of the beginning Soviet-American meeting, the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said that "We, both sides, are able, as it is expected by the world community, not only to preserve, but further everything positive that has been accumulated in Soviet-American relations during the past three-four years. I hope that the forthcoming Moscow talks with the secretary of state will build up the dynamism necessary for this."

Cheney, Aspin, Nitze Cited on SNF Talks

PM0905111589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 May 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Captive to Old Concepts"]

[Text] Washington, 8 May—U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney has once again stated that the United States has no intention of entering into talks with the USSR on the question of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. We are convinced that "nuclear weapons, in particular short-range nuclear weapons [SNF], are a key element in our strategy in Western Europe," he said, speaking on an NBC TV program Sunday [7 May].

Cheney clarified that, in the U.S. opinion, the "main attention must be focused on reductions in conventional armed forces rather than on short-range nuclear forces." He pointed out that U.S. nuclear weapons will remain in Western Europe as long as U.S. troops are there.

In turn, speaking on an ABC TV program, Les Aspin, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, urged the administration to hold "preliminary debates" with the East to define a mandate for future talks. Paul Nitze, former special adviser to the president and the U.S. secretary of state for talks on arms reductions, also spoke in favor of talks.

Nitze Criticizes Bush Administration on SNF

PM0505142589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 May 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Correspondent A. Shalnev dispatch: "Paul Nitze Goes Out With a Bang"]

[Text] New York—In American English there is an expression "to go out with a bang." It describes a situation where someone who is asked to leave goes, but only after he has spoken his mind about those who are getting rid of him. Paul Nitze, one of the most senior U.S. diplomats, both as to his age and length of service, whose main speciality was arms control, went with a bang.

He was not sacked. He was "made to go" by another method. They offered him a job with a sonorous title but of little importance. Nitze, who, in the Reagan administration, was special adviser to the president and the secretary of state and who played a key role in the military-diplomatic teams which elaborated the agreements on nuclear arms with the Soviet Union, took the hint and resigned.

Before leaving he gave an interview to a NEW YORK TIMES correspondent in which he made a highly critical assessment of the present administration's course in the sphere of foreign policy and national security.

Nitze said, the newspaper writes, that he "warned Secretary of State Baker that the stance adopted by the United States which is, on the one hand, seeking the development of a new generation of short-range nuclear weapons, [SNF] and on the other hand opposing the talks advocated by Bonn on such weapons, has no chance of becoming established in NATO and will, furthermore, cause a crisis in West Germany." The administration's position, the diplomat stressed, represents "a political impossibility for most European countries.... Most of our allies believe that this idea of Washington's is mad."

It gets better as you go along. Paul Nitze has said that the Bush administration is taking up positions "to the right of the positions occupied by the Reagan administration in its policy in respect of Moscow in order to demonstrate that it is not following in the wake of the Reagan administration." In general, the former diplomat noted, close association with the Reagan administration is now viewed as something of a black mark in the selection of staff for the present government. Many people who have been appointed to the Bush administration are connected with former secretary of state Henry Kissinger who is sharply critical of the arms control stance that was upheld by George Shultz while he was head of the State Department, Nitze added. He also emphasized that the Bush administration is taking too long to analyze its foreign policy and defense strategy, so long in fact that it is risking not making headway on the path toward new arms control agreements. The United States, the diplomat said, is wasting opportunities for improving Soviet-U.S. relations.

I do not rule out that an attempt will be made to shrug off Paul Nitze's critical remarks. Well, people in the administration may say, the man is disillusioned because no job has been found for him.

I am quite willing to admit that Nitze is annoyed, but I very much doubt that a personal grievance has lead him to make such cool comments about the current administration's foreign policy survey. There have been situations in the past when Nitze said what he deemed necessary to say in the interests of the cause even while top U.S. leaders were lavishing their attention on him.

Reagan Reportedly Criticizes Bush on FRG Ties
PM0905120989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent L. Koryavin dispatch: "Disintegrating Harmony"]

[Text] Washington—The harmony in the U.S. Administration's relations with Congress, which was being spoken of at the beginning of spring, is gradually disintegrating. Today it is already being called "strained harmony."

A sharp debate has developed over the new budget proposed by the White House. Many legislators have defined it as a "fantasy," meaning the administration's requests for funding for its programs, including military ones. Such experienced members of Congress as Lee Hamilton and Lloyd Bentsen believe that the administration's budget, in the form submitted, will not help to resolve the deficit problem. Congressman Lee Hamilton pointed in this connection to the existence of "contradictions, which have arisen between the White House and Congress."

The next stumbling block is White House foreign policy. Voices of dissatisfaction with the fact that President Bush and his entourage are being slow to formulate specific steps are being heard in Congress. Disagreement is also being voiced with the stand taken by the President on the question of East-West relations, particularly with regard to talks on tactical nuclear weapons. "The United States is losing the initiative. The USSR is gaining in the eyes of public opinion. Disagreements are intensifying within NATO." These are three points of particular concern to legislators. They are increasingly vigorously starting to attack administration spokesmen during hearings in Congress, particularly U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney.

Those who criticize the administration "for its indecisiveness" also include Reagan. The 78-year-old former president, now writing his memoirs in California, avoids public charges against Bush, but Reagan's entourage, as the well-known commentator Lou Cannon points out in THE WASHINGTON POST, makes it clear that "Reagan is very concerned at the way the new administration's foreign policy positions are now shaping up. Like representatives of Congress, he has in mind chiefly the fact that the White House, by its intransigent stand on tactical nuclear weapons, is beginning to lose out in the eyes of the European and the world public and intensifying the crisis situation taking shape within NATO."

From Reagan's viewpoint, Bush was left a positive legacy in the sphere of Soviet-U.S. relations. The past years were marked by a whole series of productive steps, including the historic Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Although Bush has spoken repeatedly of the "continuity" factor, he has not yet taken new steps in this direction. The lack of an initiative from him arouses concern both in the United States and among its allies. "Both Bonn and Beverly Hills (where Reagan's residence is situated in Los Angeles) will be very surprised if Bush's sole strategy is to react only to faits accomplis," Lou Cannon concludes his article.

Bush Receives Netherlands Leaders 9 May
LD0905193889 Moscow TASS in English 1924 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] Washington May 9 TASS—U.S. President George Bush today met in the White House Dutch Premier Rudolph Lubbers and Foreign Minister Hans van Den Broek.

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said that the talk concerned only questions of environmental protection but the president invited the Dutch prime minister to come to the White House again in the evening to discuss in private modernisation of NATO tactical nuclear forces. Fitzwater noted that President Bush is interested in learning the Dutch premier's opinion on this issue and on the situation in NATO as a whole, where discussions around plans to modernise Lance tactical nuclear missiles sparked sharp differences.

According to press reports, the Dutch Government, just like some other NATO member countries, deems it expedient in present conditions to put off the adoption of a final decision on tactical nuclear arms modernisation.

Bush's Plans for East Europe Visit Cited
PM0805104589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 May 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Reprint of AFP report: "Upcoming Presidential Visit"]

[Text] As officially announced in the White House, President Bush will be visiting Warsaw and Budapest in the first half of July. According to an American official who wished to remain nameless, "the President hopes during his visit to convey his congratulations to the Polish and Hungarian leaders on the transformations carried out in their countries and to urge them not to rest on their laurels."

The exact dates of the visit have not been announced. As White House official spokesman Marlin Fitzwater reported, it is known only that Bush's trips to East European countries are to be completed by 14 July.

Bush Gives Ultimatum to Panama's Noriega
LD0905212189 Moscow TASS in English 2111 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] Washington May 10 TASS—U.S. President George Bush has presented General Noriega, commander-in-chief of the national defence force of Panama, with an ultimatum without waiting for the results of general elections in that country.

President Bush said in an interview with a group of American journalists on Tuesday that Noriega should resign from his post. He pointed out that if he gave up power, the relations between the United States and Panama would be perceptibly and immediately improved. He refused to discuss the steps that the U.S. could take if this did not happen. The President also refused to give a direct answer, when he was asked to comment on a possibility of U.S. cancellation of the Panama Canal treaties, and described it as a hypothetical question.

Deficit Forces U.S. Military Budget Cut

18000952 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 1

[Article by Grigoriy Oganov, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA political observer, under the rubric "Think About It, Etc.": "-10, +10. . . Or the 'Consoling' Arithmetic of the White House"]

[Text] If you want to delve into the true intentions of a power that has made "policy from a position of strength" and "nuclear deterrence" the alpha and omega of its foreign policy, you must carefully look into that country's military budget figures.

Do not judge its policy by the high-flown speeches of respectable leaders who have excelled in the pronouncement of a "gratuitous collection" of peace-loving phrases and declarations—it is not very difficult to "forget" these phrases when it comes down to doing something, and when the words that just recently were pronounced from high Atlantic tribunes lose every value.

Do not even judge by international or bilateral treaties that are set forth on stamped paper and authenticated by important signatures and state seals—at "x" hour these treaties will be looked at as scraps of paper that no one needs. For more than a few treaties and solemn agreements were broken or even did not go into effect at all in the 20th Century. Indeed, there is no need to go far afield. We will mention the Salt II Agreement, which was signed with President J. Carter back in the 1970's. What was its fate? Or the preliminary agreement with President Reagan on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons that was reached almost a year and a half ago—how is it being implemented in the 17 months that have transpired since then?

No, if you do not want to deceive yourself, do not believe in words, believe only the military budget figures. This is a far more reliable and a far more unfailing indicator of true intentions. . ..

As is known, the military budget of the United States has been vibrating for several years around the sacramental figure of $300 billion. It is vibrating because the White House wants very much to cross the $300 billion rubicon, but this is being hindered by American public opinion, which in recent years has been unequivocally impeding the implementation of the optimistic plans of the military-industrial complex. They want it, but it hurts. . ..

Not only because of aggressive protests by American supporters of peace who are dedicated to the idea of an antimilitaristic policy, the elimination of nuclear weapons, and the establishment of nuclear-free zones. But also because of far more prosaic circumstances and, specifically, the excessive (for the all-powerful United States!) deficit burden of the federal budget.

This time as well the budget of the United States was arrived at after long reflection, estimates, and petty paragraph after paragraph reductions to $296 billion. Commenting on the new budget, U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney (who is also new and who was hurriedly called in after the failure of Tower's candidacy) literally ground his teeth. Of course—Ronald Reagan, who submitted a draft budget to Congress before he left the presidential post, recommended a figure that was about $10 billion higher. But, what can you do! They could not at all make ends meet in the Treasury in the Reagan way, and George Bush had to agree, however regrettable this was, with the financiers and to take reality into account.

Thus, there is no reason to believe that the decision of prominent American authorities to reduce military allocations for 1990 is some kind of a display of love of peace: because it is made literally "under the lash" and out of fear of the budget deficit, which plays the role of a sword of Damocles.

However, literally the next day after this forced demonstration of "peaceableness," the occupant in the White House signed a secret directive on the allocation of $10 million (also 10) to the Central Intelligence Agency. Moreover, this directive provides a goal-oriented direction for the allocated resources: money from the pockets of American taxpayers will go to "support opposition forces in Panama." More simply, it is for bribing Panamian reactionaries, who are useful to the United States, on the threshold of the presidential elections that have been scheduled in this Central American republic for the beginning of May.

Of course, $10 million for the CIA hardly compensates for the loss of $10 billion from the Pentagon budget. But the "consoling" draw of the number itself—10 (ten), apparently, should play a certain psychlogical role, giving hope to various kinds of "contras," on which the White House is counting in its clever Latin American card shuffling.

But the difference in the number of zeros is, as the saying goes, a harsh reality that will have to be faced more than once by all sorts of highly placed Oliver Norths and other amateurs of political shady enterprises. With which I also congratulate them.

Think about it, etc.

Trade With U.S. 'Unjustifiably Politicized'
LD0605025789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1520 GMT 5 May 89

[Commentary by TASS political observer Vladimir Matyash]

[Text] Moscow, 5 May—TASS political observer Vladimir Matyash writes:

Charles Vanik, former member of the U.S. Congress and author of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment of sad renown, which placed restrictions on the development of Soviet-American trade, has again spoken in favor of suspending the operation of this amendment.

Speaking in Washington, Vanik called the reforms taking place in the USSR an "event of world significance". In his words the Soviet Union is rapidly turning itself into a "country with open politics" where exciting and dynamic economic social and political changes are taking place. In the light of these changes, he said, the Soviet Union ought to be granted most favored nation status in trade, of which it was deprived by the amendment. Such a step by the United States must be unilateral and must not be accompanied by any additional conditions, Vanik said.

This eloquent statement aquires particular topicality in light of the 12th annual meeting of the U.S.-Soviet trade and economic council which opens in McLean, Virgina on 15 May.

Under examination at the meeting will be questions concerning the prospects for business cooperation under the conditions of restructuring in the USSR, the setting up of "free trade zones", the formation of consortia and joint enterprises and the search for other new forms of cooperation. Sessions of committees on legal and financial aspects of trade and economic relations between the USSR and the United States will be held separately.

Considerable attention will be given to discussing existing obstacles which are making Soviet-U.S. cooperation more difficult. The conviction that the time has now come to make a serious review of trade policy toward the Soviet Union and to raise the question of lifting the discriminatory Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which forbids the granting of most favored nation status to the Soviet Union, has now spread in the business circles of the United States.

John Jacob, president of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, stated a few days ago that the reforms being carried out in the Soviet Union under the leadership of President Gorbachev are making an enormous impression upon us and the change we are proposing in the legislation which is holding back Soviet-U.S. trade would give a necessary positive signal from the United States.

Indeed, the main reason for the unsatisfactory situation in trade and economic relations between the USSR and the United States is the fact that these are unjustifiably politicized by the U.S. side. The United States has repeatedly resorted to "sanctions" and restrictions of different kinds in its attempts to put political pressure upon the USSR.

At the same time economic ties between the USSR and the United States must have a firm, long term and stable foundation. The key to this is that they must be built upon a basis of real economic, commercial interests. The Soviet side is creating the necessary condition for such cooperation. Thus, in January 1987 a law on joint enterprises on the territory of the USSR was adopted. In particular it provides for a simpler procedure for making decisions to set up joint enterprises on the territory of the USSR; for the introduction of additional tax concessions for joint enterprises; for the development of new forms of economic cooperation with foreign partners, including participation in foreign joint stock companies and investment activity abroad, and also cooperation in the training and retraining of qualified staff.

The development of trade and economic relations upon a stable and healthy foundation could make a great positive contribution to the creation of an atmosphere of trust between the two countries.

Opportunites in USSR-U.S. Trade Viewed
PM0905131789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with B.P. Alekseyev, senior vice president of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council and head of the council's Moscow mission, by TASS political observer Yu. Kornilov for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "So as Not to Miss the Boat; Problems and Prospects of Soviet-American Economic Cooperation"—date, place of interview not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The 12th annual meeting of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council [ASTEC]—the organ of the two countries' business circles whose membership includes more than 150 Soviet ministries, departments, enterprises, and cooperatives and around 350 U.S. corporations and banks—is to open shortly in Washington. What problems will be at the focus of the Washington forum? This was the first question I put to B.P. Alekseyev, senior vice president of ASTEC and head of the Council's Moscow mission.

The annual meeting, which is held alternately in the USSR and the United States, is the ASTEC's supreme organ, B.P. Alekseyev said. The task of the present meeting, which will be attended on the Soviet side by more than 150 heads of departments and foreign trade organizations, enterprise directors, and economists, is to examine the most important problems in the two countries' trade and economic cooperation and its new forms

and methods. This is all the more important since the improvement of the political relations between the USSR and the United States and the radical economic reform which is under way in our country have opened up good prospects.

[Kornilov] Much has been said and written lately, both in Moscow and in Washington, about the extensive opportunities which exist for the development of Soviet-American trade and economic ties. Is it not true however, that in translating these opportunities into reality, we are having to start virtually from scratch?

[Alekseyev] Not quite. It is true that the U.S. share in Soviet foreign trade does not exceed 1.1 per cent right now, and that the share of our country in U.S. foreign trade is even smaller—0.5 percent. The figures are scant. However, in any matter, and in trade especially, it is not just the point of departure that matters, but also the general trend. And looking at the situation from this angle, the picture changes. It is not just a question of the reciprocal commodity turnover almost doubling during the past year alone, when it increased from R1.2 billion to R2.1 billion. The main thing is that a mutual desire to ensure that trade and economic ties do not lag behind progress achieved in other spheres of bilateral relations has increased noticeably and is continuing to grow.

A Soviet foreign economic consortium has been set up and is stepping up its activity in our country, and an American Trade Consortium (ATC), which represents the interests of a number of major firms, has been established in the United States. At the end of March the two consortiums signed a general trade agreement which makes provision for the establishment in the USSR of some 20 joint ventures with the participation of such world famous U.S. corporations as Chevron, ADM, Eastman Kodak, Johnson & Johnson, and Nabisco. The spheres in which these enterprises will operate includes petroleum extraction, instrument building, processing of agricultural produce, and the production of sanitary ware.

Talks are under way with the U.S. companies Combustion Engineering and McDermott on the establishment (in cooperation with two Japanese companies) of another consortium which is to specialize in the comprehensive processing of gas in West Siberia. A number of U.S. companies (Pfizer, Abbot Laboratories, Hewlett-Packard, Becton & Dickinson, Medserv [last name as published], and others) have put forward a proposal to set up a consortium which would specialize in the production of drugs and medical equipment and instruments. An active quest is under way for new forms of cooperation with our longstanding trade partners including Pepsico, Philip Morris, Monsanto, Coca Cola, and Dresser.

[Kornilov] How many joint Soviet-American joint ventures are already operating?

[Alekseyev] To date 33 such enterprises are officially registered in our country. This indicator as such is not bad. However, it has to be mentioned that many of our U.S. partners are seeking cooperation in the service sphere rather than the production of the goods which our country needs. We hope that it will be possible in the future to rectify this undesirable bias, and not just with the help of consortiums. I would like to mention that a major company such as Rank Xerox is conducting negotiations on the joint production of laser printing equipment, and the Chrysler and General Motors concerns have shown interest in cooperation in the automobile industry. In Simferopol, Soviet construction workers are building a plant for the production of sprinklers in cooperation with the well known Valmont company. Interesting spheres of cooperation with the ADM company have emerged in the comprehensive processing of grain.

With the participation of the APCO company a joint enterprise "Most" ["Bridge"] has been set up which seeks to facilitate the access of U.S. capital to the Soviet market and vice versa. The opening, for the first time in the history of Soviet-American business contacts, of a branch of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity in New York will serve the same aim.

[Kornilov] Let us return to the traditional commodity exchange. In view of the situation in our economy, what can we offer our U.S. partners?

[Alekseyev] The serious difficulties besetting our national economy are well known. Nonetheless, it must not be forgotten that our country is a mighty industrial power which has plenty to offer on the world market. Incidentally, people in the United States are aware of this too. I have a recent, March edition of THE WASHINGTON POST in front of me. "The Russians," the newspaper writes, "have much to offer, from cytology to electronics, from the utilization of ultrasound in medine to chemical catalysis, from modern materials to the technology of the manufacture of compact nuclear reactors, from lasers to the impulse method in power engineering and modern computer programs." Our problem lies not so much in the absence of export goods as in the fact that we still have not learned how to operate on the external market in conditions of fierce competition....

[Kornilov] What do you mean by this?

[Alekseyev] I am talking about our sluggishness, incompetence, our unique kind of bureaucracy—what else? Why, for instance, is the list of enterprises built with the assistance of U.S. agro-business so short? Why did our departments conduct fruitless talks for years with the Moorman Manufacturing company which specializes in feed supplements which it has developed for hog raising although is has been proved that this method produces high economic results? Why is it impossible to reach a

final agreement with the Chilevich Corp [name as published] company which is prepared to build plants in Kazan and Krasnodar for quality processing of leather raw material? And the list of these "whys" could easily be continued....

[Kornilov] However, in order to be objective, it has to be said that obstacles in the development of mutually advantageous trade contacts are not just created by our side....

[Alekseyev] Correct. For many years, certain circles in the United States have tried, albeit in vain, to use trade as a "lever to exert pressure" on the USSR. Relapses into this approach can be seen to this day. However, something else is worth mentioning. For instance, the fact that calls to repeal the discriminatory Jackson-Vanik amendment can be increasingly heard in Washington today, the amendment which legitimized customs restrictions on trade with the USSR. And one of the first to advocate repealing the amendment was its author himself, the former Democrat Congressman C. Vanik. Many representatives of U.S. business circles are warning that if old approaches are adhered to, they may "miss the boat" since the place of U.S. companies in the Soviet market will be taken up by West European firms from EEC member countries. In short, if Mercury, the god of trade, really exists, he ought to be pleased: Time and the course of events are working in his favor!

U.S. Urged To Stop Sending Arms to Afghan Rebels

LD0605142889 Moscow TASS in English 1405 GMT 6 May 89

[Commentary by TASS correspondent Yuriy Tyssovskiy]

[Text] Kabul May 6 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Yuriy Tyssovskiy:

In the course of the Afghan discussion at the UN Security Council, U.S. Deputy Representative on the Security Council Patricia Byrne has said she is amazed at the heights, or to be more exact the depths of hypocrisy of the Soviet Union which calls for peace in Afghanistan and at the same time supplies the Kabul government with up-to-date weapons in unprecedented quantities.

One should turn to facts to clarify what really "heights" and "depths" mean.

On the shores of the Potomac they do not conceal their aim to overthrow the "Kabul regime". Washington is ready to fight, cost what it may, for that goal "till the last Afghan". The United States' tool in furthering this goal are the Peshawar Alliance of Seven and the subordinated mujahidin which means literally "ready to die in the struggle for faith". But what faith?

Over the three months since the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, the "fighters for faith" became mercenaries fighting for interests alien to the Afghan people. How can one otherwise characterise the Islamabad-formed rebel "transitional government", based on Pakistan territory, which obediently follows Pakistan's "Inter-Services Intelligence" (ISI) being maintained with Saudi money and fighting with American weapons?

Now about weapons. At his latest press conference President Najibullah said that the irreconcilable opposition had received through the CIA and the ISI channels in the year since the signing of the Geneva accords more armaments than in the previous nine years. Right-wing circles in the U.S. Congress are now criticising the White House, saying that the CIA continues supplying rebels with weapons used in guerilla warfare, which are inefficient in the current "war of towns" and want them to be provided with heavy artillery, a greater number of Stinger missiles and other mobile anti-air defence missile complexes. One should say that the criticism is ungrounded, since Washington is sending huge quantities of the most up-to-date weapons to Afghanistan.

THE NEW YORK TIMES service distributed on April 23 an article by Henry Kamm from Islamabad, directly pointing to the decisive U.S. role in supplying Afghans with weapons and disclosing the mechanism of distribution of armaments between the rebel groups.

The consequences of such a course are ruinous, above all for Afghanistan's future, a future that Western "human rights" champions purport to care so much about. Jalalabad, once an orchard town, was heavily wrecked by Western-supplied missiles and shells, innocent people in Kabul and Khowst, Herat and Qandahar are dying in their explosions. Mosques and dwelling houses are collapsing, irrigation structures and electric transmission lines are being destroyed.

The discussion at the UN Security Council has clearly shown that the United States, one of the guarantors of the Geneva accords, extracted from the agreements only the USSR's obligation to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan within the preset dates. Washington political scientists interpret another important accord—formation of a broadly representrative coalition government—only as the overthrow of the Kabul regime and formation of a pro-American and pro-Pakistan government. The question prompts itself here: Will a government be broadly representative without participation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, a major organised political force in the country, which is convincingly proving its right to represent considerable strata of Afghan society? There can be no two answers here and for any sober-minded observer. A broad-based representative government presupposes participation of all political forces which should determine, through a constructive dialogue, a would-be state set-up of Afghanistan. There is no other way to peace.

This way is being championed by the Soviet Union and therefore it is giving the legitimate Afghan Government all-round support, including military. And it will continue rendering it in the necessary quantities as long as American weapons continue flowing in an endless stream to the rebels.

As to the "zero option" with regard to arms deliveries to Afghanistan, it is still on the agenda and the American Administration, should it desire to turn back to it, will always find a positive response in Moscow. In Washington they are now profusely talking of the need to give the Afghans an opportunity to decide their future themselves. This is fair, indeed. But this should be done not in a cowboy way, without resorting to power politics which give unfounded preference to one of the parties. Peace cannot be built on stockpiles of weapons.

U.S. Interest in Moroccan Airbases Growing

PM0805092789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 May 89 First Edition p 3

[A. Basov article under the rubric "Pointed Remarks": "A Little Closer to Europe..."]

[Text] The Kingdom of Morocco has been visited by a U.S. military delegation. Information leaked to the press allows one to suppose that the questions of bilateral military cooperation discussed included the question of giving the U.S. Air Force the right to use Moroccan airspace for carrying out training flights. The validity of this supposition is confirmed by stories that appeared earlier in the U.S. press attesting to the Pentagon's intention to create a permanent airbase on the territory of this North African state.

Generally speaking, the Pentagon long ago "established" its presence in this country. It has already secured military bases there—at Sidi Slimane, 80 miles to the north of Rabat, the capital of Morocco, and at Kenitra. The latter was even used once by the U.S. Strategic Air Command. Both bases, in the opinion of American specialists, are still suitable for use but need to be re-equipped. Evidently the question of breathing "new life" into them is now being discussed.

Discussions about creating a "forward base" in Morocco for the U.S. Air Force were held as far back as 1987 in connection with the unpleasant but unavoidable prospect of having to leave Spain that loomed before the U.S. Air Force 401st Tactical Air Wing. But the idea of transferring F-16 fighter-bombers there from the base at Torrejon de Ardoz proved abortive because Morocco is not a member of NATO. But Pentagon and NATO strategists have kept their "sights" on this country, nevertheless. And their specific interest in it has grown, particularly of late. And, we must add, this interest has taken a quite definite direction.

The reason for this is the growing protest in Western Europe, mainly in the FRG, against NATO Air Force exercises, especially against flights at low altitudes. In fact, as ABC Television has pointed out, "aircraft fly very low and, if they crash, innocent people are killed on the ground." It is understandable that the public is quite concerned by the serious consequences of such incidents, which have grown more frequent. It is demanding increasingly insistently that the threat of a repeat of tragedies like the one in the West German city of Ramstein, for example, be removed from their countries.

Under these conditions, the Americans and their NATO allies are simply forced to seek other options, whether they like it or not. They have no wish to terminate the exercises when military pilots are so much in need, according to THE WASHINGTON TIMES, "of plenty of flying experience and space for air maneuvers, and when the very latest equipment for flights in all types of weather, at low altitude, and at night is being commissioned"! But where should they look? Canada, for example, where, according to the same newspaper, pilots from Britain and the FRG go to train more and more frequently, is rather a long way from the Old World. And NATO strategists have absolutely no intention of letting the possible European "theater of military operations" out of their sight.

That is when they remembered Morocco, with its vast desert territories and old U.S. bases. This choice is also favored by the country's exceptionally advantageous position—it is situated, let us remind you, on the Mediterranean coast opposite Gibraltar. True, one (or at least one) ticklish point arises in this connection. The presence of U.S. military installations in this region, as R. Newman, former U.S. ambassador to Morocco, admits, for example, could have a negative impact on the prospects of a Near East settlement. But it seems that considerations of this nature are secondary in this case. The most important thing is to be a little closer to Europe....

China

PRC Delegation Attends Moscow May Day Parade

OW0805004789 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 2 May 89

[Text] For the first time in the past 25 years, a Chinese delegation observed the May Day parade from the rostrum at the Lenin Mausoleum in Red Square. The delegation was from China's Broadcasting Academy. (Yang Yumin), a member of the delegation and economist who is also a deputy to the Beijing Municipal People's Congress, was interviewed in Red Square by a reporter of the Soviet Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, who was covering the parade. In fluent Russian, he answered the Soviet reporter's questions and spoke highly of the pre-election campaign and

the election of Soviet deputies. He was especially impressed with the pre-election debates over various major issues in Soviet social life.

The deputy from the Beijing Municipal People's Congress said the Chinese people set great store by the reform in the Soviet Union. He emphatically pointed out that the Chinese people are waiting anxiously for Gorbachev's visit this month, and hope that the Soviet-Chinese summit will lead to the normalization of relations between the two countries as soon as possible.

Gorbachev Visit Prevents Use of 'Chinese Card'
OW1005104989 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0200 GMT 9 May 89

[From the "Current Events and Commentaries" program; station observer Ivanov commentary]

[Text] Listeners, Gorbachev will visit the PRC in mid-May, which is not far away. This important event has aroused increasing interest among people not only in the Soviet Union and China, but also in Asia-Pacific nations and even in the whole world. They believe that the complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will have a beneficial effect on the situation in the Asia-Pacific region, ensuring its security and promoting cooperation among various nations. Our station observer Ivanov has the following comments on this:

Gorbachev stressed in his speech delivered in Vladivostok in July 1986 that history has given the Soviet and Chinese people a very important task. International developments depend on these two biggest socialist countries in many ways. The Soviet Union and China have identical or similar stands and actions on the issues of preventing nuclear holocaust and ensuring nuclear disarmament, which are important questions of principle. [Words indistinct] the nations of the Asia-Pacific region are all deeply concerned about these issues. They think that these issues may be effectively solved through the joint efforts of our two countries.

On other issues, the Soviet Union and China may also play a positive part. One of these is seeking solutions to regional conflicts. The improvement of relations between our two countries over the past few years no doubt had a positive effect on the signing of the Geneva agreement on the Afghan issue. Now, many Asian countries have presented the view that the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will be conducive to easing the situation around disaster-laden Afghanistan on the basis of strict observance of the Geneva agreement by all the signatories.

The Cambodian problem has for years remained a root cause for concern to the public in Asia. Now it is hoped that the Cambodian conflict will be resolved. In the opinion of the Asian people, this is attributable, to a rather large extent, to the improvement of Sino-Soviet relations.

On the eve of the Soviet leader's visit to China, the press in many Asia-Pacific countries have expressed the firm belief that the Soviet-Chinese summit will be conducive to the health of the political climate in Indochina and in Asia as a whole.

Gorbachev's visit to China will prevent political-card players from using the Soviet or Chinese card any more. In the past, these people have always used Soviet-Chinese contradictions to serve private military and political interests. Now, it is no longer possible for them to do so, and this will undoubtedly help ensure the security of the Asia-Pacific region.

Of course, no one thinks that the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will solve all international issues. Both the Soviet Union and China have their own foreign policies with different priorities. They also have different international duties and special interests. It is unrealistic to expect that these two big countries will share an entirely and absolutely identical position on all issues. However, this should not adversely affect cooperation in various fields between the Soviet Union and China. The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations is vital to guaranteeing security in the Asia-Pacific region and in the rest of the world.

Beijing Summit To Enhance Asia-Pacific Security
OW0605033689 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 25 Apr 89

[Commentary by station reporter Ivanov: "An Important Contribution to Asia-Pacific Regional Security"; read by announcer]

[Text] Dear listeners, Comrade Gorbachev will visit China in mid-May, which is less than a month from today. Not only in the Soviet Union and China, but also in many Asia-Pacific nations, the public has expressed an increasingly keen interest in the visit. The following is a commentary by station reporter Ivanov:

From items published by the press in the Asia-Pacific region, one can see that the public in the region has placed great hope not only in the Soviet leader's visit to Beijing, but also on complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. This is very natural, because the coming event deals with the peace and security of both this region and the whole world.

Suopi [name as heard], a noted Malaysian political activist, said: The easing of Soviet-Chinese tension combined with the positive development of arms control talks between the Soviet Union and the United States are sure to produce more harmonious relations between the three nations and exert a positive impact on the whole Asia-Pacific situation.

Many people believe that political poker players can no longer play either the "Soviet card" or the "Chinese card" or exploit the differences between the two nations

to their advantage. Gorbachev's visit will help stabilize the world situation and the triangular Moscow-Beijing-Washington relations as well. This is heartening.

The Soviet Union and China hold identical or similar views on a series of important principled issues such as preventing a nuclear disaster, promoting nuclear arms reduction, and other issues. Both have pledged not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and have actively supported the establishment of nuclear-free and peace zones. They particularly support the Asia-Pacific people's desire to establish new nuclear-free and peace zones. Both are resolutely opposed to the expansion of the arms race in space. For this reason, the press in Asia-Pacific nations has arrived at the logical conclusion that it is possible that the two socialist powers can achieve results in their joint efforts to solve problems, that the two nations will play an important role in ensuring security in the Asia-Pacific region and in the whole world, and that the Soviet Union and China can play a positive role in solving regional conflicts in the Asia-Pacific region.

The process of Soviet-Chinese normalization in recent years has doubtlessly helped promote the Geneva talks on a political solution to the Afghanistan question. The Geneva talks ended with the signing of an agreement between Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Soviet Union, and the United States. The Soviet Union and Afghanistan have strictly abided by and fulfilled all obligations according to the agreement, but this is not the case with Pakistan and the United States. A view often heard in the Asia-Pacific region is that Soviet-Chinese normalization can also play a positive role in truly mediating in the tragic Afghan situation, and can prompt all sides to unequivocally fulfill the Geneva agreement.

For many years, the Cambodia issue has been a cause of serious concern among ASEAN and other Asian nations. Recently, heartening progress has been made regarding this issue. The ASEAN nations have effectively helped mediate in the Cambodian conflict. These nations also maintain that, to a very great extent, the progress in solving the Cambodia question is attributable to the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. People believe that the coming Soviet-Chinese summit will greatly improve the political atmosphere in Indochina. Of course, we should neither place excessive expectations on nor link the solution to all existing international issues with the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations; nor should we ignore the fact that both the Soviet Union and China have their own priorities in foreign policy, as well as their own international obligations and special interests. Of course, we should not expect the two nations to hold completely identical views on all issues. We believe this should not obstruct Soviet-Chinese cooperation in various areas or lessen the significance of Soviet-Chinese normalization in ensuring the peace and security of the Asia-Pacific region and the whole world.

'Identical' USSR, PRC Foreign Policies Noted

OW0905022489 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 3 May 89

[Commentary by Soviet international affairs columnist Volskiy: "Common Characteristics of the Main Intention"]

[Text] Now we shall ask you to spend a few minutes listening to a commentary by Volskiy, Soviet columnist on international affairs, on the foreign policies of our two countries.

In the present world where every country depends on and has contacts with other countries, socialist countries are not isolated from other countries and peoples but rather linked with them by increasingly close economic, political, and cultural ties at various levels. These objective realities at the end of the 20th century are also embodied in the new political thinking, which maintains that the factors and interests of all mankind take precedence over other factors and interests of classes, nations, or whatever.

Normalization of relations between our two countries is not the subjective wish of certain individuals, but is required by the times. In our age mankind seems like a bunch of people in a small boat tossed about in a large ocean of military, political, and economic crises and problems that are in the offing. Different socialist countries, in spite of various circumstances, all follow the new thinking on certain issues. This may be said to be a representative characteristic. They show their loyalty to the new thinking by action as well as words. Socialism, together with the new thinking, has acquired new political strength. The phenomenon can be obvious in various parts of the world, including the Asia-Pacific region.

First of all, most Asian countries that have taken the socialist road of development are carrying out comprehensive plans for reform, modernization, and improving the socialist road. These plans have different names and various characteristics in the Soviet Union, China, Vietnam, and Mongolia. However, they are similar in the main aspect, which is that they all endeavor to show the creative potential of socialism as well as the creative capabilities of the masses as much as possible. Basically, the foreign policies of socialist countries in Asia also have similar orientations in their main features. Due to historical, geogrphical, and other factors, these countries may not hold identical views on the situation in a certain country or on certain regional issues. However, this does not affect socialist countries in addressing the basic issues of international relations by proceeding from common or similar positions. The fact that the Soviet Union and China take identical postions toward these issues will serve as a convincing example.

For instance, both countries advocate destruction of nuclear arms and, unlike the nuclear superpowers of the West, have undertaken the obligation of not carrying out

a preemptive nuclear strike. Also of considerable importance is the fact that the Soviet Union and China, again unlike superpowers of the West, have signed the Rarotonga Treaty, which declares the southern Pacific a nuclear-free zone. At present, the proposals of establishing nuclear-free or peace zones in the Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia, and the Korean Peninsula in our agenda are very important for all countries in the Asia-Pacific Region. The Soviet and Chinese attitudes in principle are similar and, more often than not, identical on most occasions.

In addition, the Soviet-U.S. treaty reached in accordance with the Soviet proposal on destroying intermediate and intermediate-short range nuclear missiles also covers the Asia-Pacific Region. Does it not have substantial significance for strengthening security in the region? China supports the treaty, which rids Asia of a portion of the arms capable of causing large-scale destruction, and the signing of which was historically unprecedented.

Here, we also may mention the suggestions offered by the Soviet Union and China about improving the system of international economic relations, eliminating neocolonialism and tariff protectionism, and drawing up countermeasures against the policy of discrimination under the principle of equality and fairness. "Disarmament for the purpose of promoting development," a famous slogan of the United Nations and the Nonaligned Movement, has won the support of the Soviet Union, China, and other socialist countries. Besides, here it has its profound inherent logic. We must be aware that it is history itself that has bestowed upon socialist countries the mission of consistently safeguarding the value of all mankind. The value is [words indistinct] by taking coordinated actions with other countries, political powers, and all peoples with goodwill. Without doubt, this kind of coordination will serve to guard against any change of course in the improving international situation. The Asia-Pacific region is not far behind, either, particularly when we take into consideration the fact that socialist countries in the region, with the Soviet Union and China at the top of the list on account of the forthcoming summit, will believe that the basic factors that unite them are of the greatest importance.

USSR-PRC Military Confrontation Relaxed

OW0805120189 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 4 May 89

[Unidentified station commentator's article]

[Text] Soviet leader Gorbachev will be visiting China in less than 2 weeks. This visit signifies a complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, one indication being the relaxation of military confrontation between the Soviet Union and China. The following is a station commentator's article in this connection:

We all know that acute confrontation existed between the Soviet Union and China in the 1960's and the 1970's. Both sides had strengthened border defenses and military facilities to prevent and prepare for military conflicts. The people lived in a state of heightened vigilance. Soviet-Chinese military confrontation on the border also caused uneasiness and wariness among the neighboring countries. This was unfavorable to development in the Asia-Pacific Region. Therefore, an important element in the efforts to normalize Soviet-Chinese relations is the elimination of military tension and increased mutual trust. In this connection, Beijing has unilaterally reduced its armed forces and switched many military enterprises to production of civilian goods. Based on a 1987 agreement with the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR], the Soviet Union has also withdrawn a motorized division and several detachments temporarily stationed in that country.

The signing of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces [INF] Treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States in December 1987 also indicated the Soviet willingness to consider the interests of China, Japan, and other Asian countries. Under the INF Treaty, the Soviet Union has begun dismantling 162 medium-range missiles and 140 short-range missiles in its eastern territory. This decision was highly appraised by China and other Asia-Pacific countries.

According to Gorbachev's announcement at the UN General Assembly session, the Soviet Union will reduce its armed forces by 500,000 men in the next 2 years, including 200,000 men in the eastern part of the country. During that period the Soviet Union will withdraw three-fourths of its troops stationed in the MPR. The Soviet Union has suggested to China that the new principle of maintaining forces sufficient for defensive purpose be used as the foundation for relaxing military tension on Soviet-Chinese borders. Both sides should be aware of the importance of reducing Soviet and Chinese border troops to the minimal level.

As to other lingering border problems, governmental delegations of the two countries for mediating border questions resumed talks in February 1987 and progress has been made. Both sides have reached a consensus on developments along the eastern border. They have tried to adopt a constructive attitude in carrying out the work of [words indistinct] of the western border. Both sides are willing to work on the basis of equality, mutual understanding, and mutual concession.

Therefore, it is now possible to turn the Soviet-Chinese boundary into a boundary of peace, friendship, and goodneighborliness. Large-scale reduction of Soviet-Chinese troops and conventional weapons to a minimal level, and thorough efforts in settling border questions will constitute major contributions to achieving relaxation and reducing military confrontation in the Asia-Pacific region. This will effect changes in the views of other countries in this region, based on the principle of maintaining forces sufficient for defensive purposes.

Soviet, Chinese 'Activists' View Beijing Summit
OW1005085989 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 29 Apr 89

[Text] Dear listeners, the process of normalizing Soviet-Chinese relations will soon reach its climax. A bilateral summit will be held in mid-May. Doubtless, the Soviet Union and China are fervently anticipating this meeting and its outcome. Many political and social figures, scholars, and journalists are predicting the impact this meeting will have on Soviet-Chinese relations. The following is the view of Tan Wenrui, chief editor of RENMIN RIBAO, who visited the Soviet Union recently, on the upcoming summit.

[Begin Tan recording] Regarding the Soviet-Chinese summit in May this year, Chinese leaders have already said the meeting itself symbolizes the normalization of relations between the two countries and parties of the Soviet Union and China. Top leaders of the two countries have also said that normalization of relations does not mean restoration of relations to the same state between the two countries and parties as they were in the 1950's. It will be a new type of relationship—in other words, a friendly and cooperative relationship based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

So I think that after normalization of relations between the two countries and parties, both sides will make great progress in cooperation in all aspects. In the economic sphere in particular, the two countries have great potential for cooperation. After all, our two countries practice the socialist system and have many things in common. We can learn from each other's strong points to offset each other's deficiencies and cooperate to fill each other's needs. [end recording]

In recent years, rapid progress has been made in Soviet-Chinese relations in all aspects, whether at the central or the local levels. For instance, not long ago the Heilongjiang provincial delegation led by Wang Yaochen, chairman of the Heilongjiang Provincial Foreign Affairs Office, visited the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Foreign Ministry of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. Talking about the Soviet-Chinese summit, Comrade Wang Yaochen said:

[Begin Wang recording] Comrade Gorbachev, president of the Supreme Soviet and general secretary of the CPSU, will soon visit China. The Chinese people attach great importance to this visit. I think the two countries will normalize their relations through holding a summit. General Secretary Zhao Ziyang will meet with General Secretary Gorbachev during the latter's visit. It is natural that the two parties will soon restore their relations. All this will create many favorable conditions for the establishment of a new type of Sino-Soviet relationship—that is, a new political relationship—on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, as well as the establishment of a new type of economic relationship on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. [end recording]

We can definitely say that the upcoming meeting will have great importance not only for China and the Soviet Union, but also for the healthy development of the situation in the whole world, primarily the Asia-Pacific region. Ovchinnikov, the famous Soviet journalist and PRAVDA political observer, has discussed his view on the Soviet-Chinese summit.

Ovchinnikov said: It goes without saying that normalization of relations between the two largest Asian countries, which are two neighboring socialist countries, and the maintaining of a peaceful and goodneighborly relationship along the longest land boundary in the world will favorably influence the Asian situation. This will help relax tension in areas of conflict in the Asia-Pacific region. I think normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will help solve the Cambodian question and relax tension on the Korean Peninsula. I feel that this will create favorable conditions for the Soviet Union and China to develop relations with other Asia-Pacific countries.

For instance, new prospects may arise in Soviet-Japanese relations. We, the Soviet Union, welcome the Indian-Chinese summit. All these positive developments in the Asia-Pacific region will certainly acquire a new impetus after the Soviet-Chinese summit in mid-May.

You have been listening to the reactions of famous Soviet and Chinese activists to the Soviet-Chinese summit.

Talks on USSR-PRC Economic Cooperation Noted
OW0805085789 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 30 Apr 89

[Commentary by station observer (Silganyev)]

[Excerpts] Both China and the Soviet Union are trying to accelerate their economic and social development. The two countries are able to complement each other economically, which is a result of history's work, and this has provided great possibilities for their expansion of economic contacts. This conception was described by Soviet leader Gorbachev in Vladivostok during the summer of 1986 and is reflected increasingly obviously by many specific acts of Sino-Soviet cooperation. One of the aspects of Sino-Soviet cooperation is the cooperation between the two countries' central planning organizations. Here is a commentary by our station observer (Silganyev) in this connection:

The fundamental economic reforms currently underway in China and the Soviet Union have stimulated the two countries' cooperation in planning. Although the two nations' economic reforms differ in certain ways, they also share quite a few similarities. To coordinate efforts in this area and make better use of the two nations' historically developed abilities to complement each

other economically, an agreement on cooperation between the Soviet and the Chinese planning commissions was signed in Beijing in September 1986.

The permanent work unit in charge of planning and liaison under the Soviet-Chinese Economic, Trade, and Scientific-Technological Cooperation Committee began work in 1986. The unit was led on the Soviet side by Sitaryan, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, and on the Chinese side by Gan Ziyu, vice minister of China's State Planning Commission. At the meeting of the permanent work unit, both sides exchanged extensive views on the economic development and implementation of the Soviet and Chinese economic reforms. The meeting particularly focused on problems concerning the national and regional economies, planning for factories, and price reforms. Without comprehensive price reforms, it would be difficult for our two nations to make progress in the economic reforms. However, both the Chinese and Soviet experts held that speeding up price reforms without a foundation would lead to serious economic and social problems.

Our two nations hope to widely exchange our experiences in economic reforms. The Soviet Union's reforms began 4 years ago. Therefore, China's 10-year experience with economic reforms, whether in theory or in practice, interests us very much. This can be proven by the fact that the Soviet Union has learned many things from China's experiences in economic reforms, which include: 1) implementation of the collective or family-contracted systems, introducing contract systems in agriculture, trade, service professions, and industry; 2) the issuance of shares, the purpose of which is to gather the people's idle funds and divert their use from distribution of means of production to trade; and 3) expansion of contact with the outside world, which includes establishing joint ventures with foreign companies, building special economic zones, and so forth.

Of course, the different levels of our two nations' productive forces as well as other factors require us to learn creatively from China's experiences and find our own solutions.

Likewise, Chinese experts have also delved deeply into Soviet experiences in the economic reforms. They are very interested in the way the Soviet Union laid down its national economic and social development plan, its use of government-made purchases to set up the economic standards, its turning to regional economic accounting, its regional economic program, and its arrangement of productive forces.

The two sides have also discussed cooperation plans, including the economic and trade cooperation plan and major principles concerning the fields of cooperation. [passage omitted]

The Soviet Union and China's state planning committees are exploring the possibilities for further expanding cooperation. To this end, the Soviet State Planning Committee has drawn up a draft long-term plan, extending to the year 2000, on developing economic trade and scientific-technological cooperation between the Soviet Union and China. The draft is currently under study by the Chinese. One of the urgent tasks facing the two nations is working out the basic policies on cooperation for the next 5-year plan period.

Increasing Soviet-Chinese Trade Viewed

OW0605122889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 20 Apr 89

[From the "Current Events and Commentaries" program; Korolev commentary]

[Text] Now, in light of the forthcoming visit to the PRC by Gorbachev in May, we would like to talk about the prospect of the complete normalization of Sino-Soviet relations. Both sides are making efforts to this end, primarily because this is a requirement arising from the needs of their domestic development. The following is a commentary on this by Korolev:

Although many of the concrete conditions are different in the Soviet and Chinese reform processes, the two countries share much common ground. Because of this, the interest shown by each country in the experience of its neighbor is realistic. Deriving the greatest benefit from the economy is one of the most important tasks of economic reform being carried out in both the Soviet Union and China. Both Moscow and Beijing think new possibilities for cooperation are of great significance in this regard.

It is very hard to cite any field in which the two countries have not yet laid a foundation for cooperation. Border trade has already far exceeded the adjacent areas of China and the Soviet Union, and has become a field for diversified cooperation, involving a very large volume of business. An initial estimate shows that the volume of trade between the two countries this year will be 17 percent more than last year and amount to some $3 billion. The Soviet Union will supply China with various kinds of equipment, machine tools, trucks, sedans, and railroad cars. It will also turn out electro-locomotives and power-generating units to fill orders from the Chinese side. On the other hand, China will furnish the Soviet Union with various ores, consumer goods for daily use, cereals, fertilizers, and textile products.

In addition, the two countries will put into effect another form of cooperation, the establishment of joint ventures.

Cooperation between the two countries in science and technology and in production will assist them in developing modern technologies.

Besides what already exists, new agreements have been signed. A marked example is the agreement reached in Moscow a few days ago. According to this agreement, China has gained the right to fish within the 200-nautical mile economic zone in the Far East part of the Soviet Union, while the Chinese side will help the Soviet side grow kelp along the coast.

It is expected that the imminent Sino-Soviet summit will open a broader prospect for relations between the two countries.

USSR-PRC Joint Venture Set Up in Kazakhstan

OW1005083189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 4 May 89

[Text] A Soviet-Chinese joint venture to make curtains and screens is being set up in the Kazakh Republic of the Soviet Union. The charter of the joint venture and a contract were signed in Alma-Ata on 4 May.

The Chinese side, represented by the Urumqi Curtains and Screens Plant, is responsible for providing special technology and equipment and training Soviet personnel.

Soviets Receive Chinese Radio Delegation 26 Apr

OW0805012789 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 26 Apr 89

[Text] Personnel of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting met with a delegation from the Beijing Institute of Radio Broadcasting on 26 April in Moscow. Tang Zhanjing, president of the Beijing Institute of Radio Broadcasting, spoke at the meeting, giving a brief account of his institute's work in training television and radio broadcasting workers. It is of great importance, he said, for the Chinese and Soviet television and radio broadcasting workers to promote cooperation and exchange experiences in training professional personnel and in carrying out advanced studies in their specialized fields.

Soviet, Chinese Geologists Agree on Joint Study

OW0705233989 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0200 GMT 29 Apr 89

[From the "Current Events and Music" program]

[Text] Soviet Far Eastern and Chinese border areas will be jointly studied by Soviet and Chinese geological workers. An agreement on this cooperative project was reached during a Chinese geological workers delegation's recent visit in Khabarovsk.

PRC Public Figure Receives Gorbachev Photograph

PM0905121989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Presentation Ceremony"]

[Text] Beijing, 8 May—A ceremony marking the presentation of a photograph of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to the well-known PRC public figure Ren Dongliang took place at the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries today.

Ren Dongliang is the son of the well-known Chinese internationalist Ren Fuchen, a participant in the Great October Socialist Revolution who died in the struggle to establish Soviet power in Russia.

In February this year Ren Dongliang sent M.S. Gorbachev a letter hailing his upcoming visit to the PRC and inviting him to call on him. In reply the Soviet leader sent Ren Dongliang his photograph bearing a memorial inscription.

The presentation ceremony was attended by senior officials of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, representatives of the Chinese public, and staffers of the USSR Embassy in the PRC.

Northeast Asia

DPRK Seeks Talks With U.S. on Nuclear Weapons

LD0905141489 Moscow TASS in English 1326 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] Panmunjom May 9 TASS—The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) has called on the United States to begin talks to remove the danger of nuclear war on the Korean peninsula.

"We are prepared for serious talks with the U.S. side on the issue at any time and in any place irrespective of the form of contacts which may be both open and closed", Major-General Choe Eu-Ung, chief delegate of the Korean-Chinese side, said here today at a regular meeting of the Military Commission for Armistice in Korea.

The DPRK representative drew the attention of those present to the fact that the aggregate yield of U.S. nuclear weapons in the south of Korea has now amounted to 13,000 kilotons.

At the same time, Choe Eu-Ung pointed out, it is well-known that the DPRK has no nuclear weapons. In 1986 the north suggested making the entire Korean peninsula a nuclear-free zone of peace. The initiatives proposed in Pyongyang in November 1988 envisage the removal of all nuclear weapons from South Korea by the end of 1990.

Now that the United States has concluded a treaty on the elimination of some types of nuclear weapons and is conducting talks on nuclear disarmament, it has no reasons that would prevent it from acting likewise in Korea, the DPRK representative said.

U.S. Rear Admiral Vogt, senior delegate of the Command of the U.N. Armed Forces to the Military Commission for Armistice in Korea, maintained that the discussion of the question of U.S. nuclear weapons in South Korea was not within the competence of the Military Armistice Commission and that statements about the availability of nuclear weapons there were based on unverified assertions.

He also stated that the problem of establishing a nuclear-free zone on the Korean peninsula was political in its essence and that the U.S. side would never discuss it at the commission's meeting.

Soviet-Japanese Social Groups Hold Talks in Moscow
OW1005081789 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 4 May 89

[Text] The second round of talks between Japanese and Soviet social organizations to discuss relations between the two nations was held in Moscow today. The delegation from Japan includes such well-known social and political activists as Mr Ryutaro Hashimoto, a Liberal-Democratic Party member and a member of the House of Representatives, former Ambassador to the Soviet Union Katori and Tokai University President Matsuma.

The meeting this time was sponsored by YOMIURI SHIMBUN and the Japanese Council for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

Speaking on the opening of the talks, Mr (Kodrachev) of the Soviet Academy of Sciences pointed out that these talks will contribute to invigorating ongoing dialogue between the Soviet Union and Japan and stressed that this type of diplomacy at the people's level needs to continue. Mr Ryutaro Hashimoto noted the significance of having the talks at the time when the two countries are holding foreign ministers' talks and insisted that Soviet-Japanese relations should see development in various aspects and further pursue mutual points of interest.

Mr Muzutani, chief editor of YOMIURI SHIMBUN, and Mr Fedoseyev of the Soviet Academy of Sciences also gave words of greeting on the opening of the talks. At the talks, which will last until 6 May, representatives of social organizations from the Soviet Union and Japan will exchange views on and discuss general international issues, issues of peace and security for the Asia-Pacific region, and the question on Soviet-Japanese economic cooperation.

Okinawa Rally Protests U.S. Military Presence
OW0905022789 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 7 May 89

[Text] A mass rally to protest the U.S. military presence was held in a village on Okinawa, Japan on Saturday. The rally protested the planned construction of a training facility for practice in urban fighting.

Sakhalin Development Includes Japanese Ventures
OW0605013389 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 30 Apr 89

[Text] Soviet economists see the solution to problems in the economic development of the Sakhalin Oblast in expanding trade with Asia - Pacific countries. On this issue, (Viktor Sobolev), chief of the International Trade Section, Economic Research Institute, Far East Department under the Soviet Academy of Sciences, made the following remarks:

The main products of Sakhalin have been coal, lumber, oil, and fish. With the transition to the new economic structure, the problem of moving from primary products to sophisticated processed commodities in exports to foreign markets and the forming of joint ventures with foreign countries have become important topics.

Forestry is one example. At present, most ports in Sakhalin hold piles of unprocessed timber, logs, and sawn wood. Plenty of sawdust, twigs, and fish manure, which are valuable materials for the chemical industry, remain untouched. Technology which creates no waste products should be introduced in forestry in Sakhalin and the whole of the Soviet Far East. In this way, the number of export items should be increased. The local lumber industry is also pinning hopes on a plan to form joint ventures in furniture making and is willing to consider all kinds of suggestions by foreign partners in this sector.

The fishing industry in Sakhalin and the Kuriles presents no less bright prospects for foreign investment. For instance, there are great opportunities in the cultivation of scallops, sea cucumbers and hard-shelled mussels, the processing of fish, and forming joint ventures specializing in the cultivation of salmon and trout, such as white salmon, red salmon, and silver salmon. People in the mining industry in Sakhalin have indicated interest in international cooperation, and they are seeking foreign partners in the joint development of [words indistinct], (?clean coal), and (?black ore).

The remarks above were made by (Sobolev), chief of the International Trade Section. Meanwhile, (Aleksey Bradiyev), vice governor of the Sakhalin Oblast People's Deputies Soviet, stated:

The government program on further promotion of foreign trade activities which was adopted late last year has greatly expanded the possibility for Sakhalin to advance

into foreign markets. At present, there are only two Soviet - Japanese joint ventures in Sakhalin. They are the (Pinlinga) joint venture for cultivating salmon and trout as well as marine products, and (Ginaga) for processing fish and marine products. However, the number of such joint ventures will be increased in the near future. For instance, it was decided recently that a Soviet - Japanese joint venture in tourism would be established. This venture will organize fishing or hunting tours for foreign tourists and also build camping facilities. Negotiations are also under way now on starting ferry service between Sakhalin's Kholmsk and Hokkaido's Wakkanai. Moreover, business exchanges have been promoted between the organization in charge of agriculture in Sakhalin and Hokuren, the Federation of Agricultural Cooperatives in Hokkaido.

This is what Vice Governor (Bradiyev) had to say.

Meanwhile, Sakhalin residents are also studying proposals made by other Asia - Pacific nations that are interested in cooperating with the Soviet Union. These nations include China, the United States, New Zealand, and the ROK. This is a matter of great interest, because the plan for setting up a special economic zone in Sakhalin is being cautiously studied now. For example, it is observed that the plan to set up a special economic zone in southern Sakhalin is seen as very hopeful. A number of economists hold that such special zones should be expanded to cover the whole area of Sakhalin, and that it is also possible to set up a free enterprise zone specializing in cultivating, gathering, and processing fish and other marine products in the southern part of the Kurile Islands.

In the near future, Sakhlin will probably join in the international division of work through utilizing its great potential in trade as well as its new structure in business administration.

More on News Conferences on Visit by Japan's Uno

OW0905072389 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 6 May 89

[For further reportage on the Soviet and Japanese news conferences on Foreign Minister Uno's visit to the USSR, see the 8 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 20-21]

[Text] On 5 May in Moscow, the Soviet and Japanese sides held news conferences respectively on the results of Japanese Foreign Minister Uno's visit to the Soviet Union.

The Japanese news conference was held first, at which Foreign Minister Uno said the following:

[Begin Uno recording] On 30 April I paid an official visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Government. During this period I was able to exchange frank and useful views in my talks with General Secretary Gorbachev, in my regular consultation with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and in peace treaty negotiations. During the weekend I had an opportunity to visit Georgia, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's native land, and was accorded a warm welcome.

Lately U.S.-Soviet relations and overall East-West relations have made progress. Against the backdrop of trends toward political stability, the Asian and Pacific region is arresting the world's attention with its dynamic developments in the economic area. I believe that efforts to truly improve Japanese-Soviet relations and build new relations between the two countries in the midst of this current in the international situation will contribute greatly not only to the interests of the two countries but also to peace and stability in the Asian and Pacific region as well as to the stabilization of East-West relations.

From this point of view Japan and the Soviet Union are making earnest efforts to improve their bilateral relations. Since last December I have held three rounds of talks with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze.

There still is a wide difference between the positions of the two sides concerning basic issues. Through frank dialogue, however, mutual understanding is deepening little by little. It is particularly important that the two sides concur on a desire to treasure the bud of improved Japanese-Soviet relations, which came into being with much difficulty, and to improve relations.

In my talks with Soviet leaders I explained views for improving Japanese-Soviet relations. I said that Japan wants to improve bilateral relations on the whole from the following five important angles: the conclusion of a peace treaty, the strengthening of relations of confidence, appropriate and practicable business relations, personnel exchanges, and mutual visits by leaders. Of these, the conclusion of a peace treaty is the most important task. In this context, it is regrettable indeed that, as a matter of fact, the Soviet Union kept its conventional position unchanged in dealing with the territorial issue, namely the issue of returning the four northern islands, which is central in the issue of concluding a peace treaty.

I hope that the difference in the basic positions of the two countries concerning the settlement of this difficult problem existing between the two countries will be narrowed down through efforts on both sides.

On General Secretary Gorbachev's visit to Japan, which will be an important link for the advancement of Japanese-Soviet relations on the whole, it was agreed that work for its preparation be accelerated.

Japan positively appraised the fact that the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan, the progress in Sino-Soviet relations and the new Soviet foreign policies are bringing about desirable trends in international relations.

Through my current visit to the Soviet Union I was able to achieve my original purpose—to expand and strengthen dialogue between the two countries for improved relations between our two countries. We want neither a reduction nor a stagnation of our bilateral relations. We want to cooperate to advance in the direction of an expanded equilibrium based on relations of stronger confidence. [end recording]

This has been an excerpt of Foreign Minister Uno's remarks at a Moscow press conference.

In reply to a question asked by a Moscow Radio reporter, Foreign Minister Uno said that at the talks, compromise plans on the territorial issue were not introduced either from the Soviet side or from the Japanese side.

Foreign Minister Uno's news conference was followed by a news conference given by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev.

[Rogachev is heard briefly speaking in Russian, fading into Japanese translation by announcer] Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev said the following: The talks between General Secretary Gorbachev and Foreign Minister Uno were held in a business-like and frank atmosphere. This atmosphere could be felt throughout the latest talks.

There were many instances which indicated that both sides' views on the most important current issues are similar or close. It was stressed by both sides that the final normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will accelerate the stabilization of the situation in Asia on the whole.

Foreign Minister Uno prudently received the Soviet proposal for starting consultations among the Soviet Union, the United States, and Japan on military and political situations in the Asian and Pacific region.

Most importantly, both sides confirmed their enthusiasm for improved relations and agreed to exert further efforts for improving Soviet-Japanese relations.

From a practical viewpoint the two sides agreed to deliberate on the question of preparing for a bilateral agreement concerning environmental protection.

The Soviet side agreed to increase the number of graves on Soviet territory to be visited by Japanese.

At the talks, the question concerning a proposed peace treaty was undertaken in great measure and the two sides presented their respective views. The two sides affirmatively evaluated the results of the meetings of the peace treaty working group and agreed to hasten work for the conclusion of the peace treaty henceforth.

Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev then clarified Soviet views on the so-called territorial issue in reply to a journalist's question.

[Rogachev heard briefly speaking in Russian, fading into Japanese translation by announcer] Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev said the following: We presented the Japanese side our detailed demonstration in terms of international law and history. This even includes data cited from Japanese historical records.

We think that those islands were discovered and reclaimed by the Russians and, moreover, the Soviet Union has the ground to believe that they are time-honored Russian islands.

Japan also faces territorial issues with China and South Korea, but they do not constitute any obstacle to Japan's smooth development of relations with China or South Korea. Why is it that a wholesome and rational view cannot be found when it comes to relations with the Soviet Union?

This has been a report on the press conferences given in Moscow by Japanese Foreign Minister Uno and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev.

Georgian Party Secretary Receives Uno 2 May

PM0905131589 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 3 May 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Talk in Georgian Communist Party Central Committee"; for further reportage on Uno's Visit to Tbilisi, see the 1 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT p 23]

[Text] On 2 May G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, received Japanese Foreign Minister S. Uno, who is in the Soviet Union on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

Warmly welcoming the guest, G. Gumbaridze noted that the Japanese delegation's visit is taking place against the background of the dramatic events the country is experiencing. Despite this, the Georgian people are glad to display their traditional hospitality and respect for the guest.

We believe it is a mistake, he said, when relations with the people are resolved with the aid of force. That is the belief of M.S. Gorbachev and that is the belief of E.A. Shevardnadze, whose stay in Georgia during these grave days has helped to stabilize the situation. All decisions, including political ones, must be taken on the basis of dialogue. We must learn to respect our opponents' opinion. All people must be made partners, not enemies.

During the talk there was mention of the profound changes taking place in all spheres of Soviet society's life—political, economic, and legislative. It was noted that the decisive condition for the successful progress of

restructuring has become the broadest possible enlistment of working people to the processes of social transformations, the development of democracy and glasnost, and the implementation of the reform of the political system.

G. Gumbaridze noted that restructuring opens up broad opportunities for setting up cooperation and direct ties between the republic and foreign countries. This was manifested specifically in the consolidation of Georgian-Japanese contacts in the field of the economy, science, and culture, which is an important component of the overall process of the improvement of Soviet-Japanese relations.

S. Uno thanked him for the warm reception and noted that he had long dreamed of visiting Georgia and his expectations had been fully justified. I shall take away the most pleasant impressions, he said. My meetings with many people have helped me acquire useful experience which I shall try to use for the further consolidation of relations between Japan and Georgia. It is wonderful that your people sacredly preserve their ancient history and culture.

Relations between East and West have been transformed into dialogue and that is to the credit of Mikhail Gorbachev, S. Uno stressed. In turn I want to lower the height of the fence dividing the countries of East and West.

During the talk the mutual opinion was voiced that the deepening of Soviet-Japanese contacts at all levels helps to improve mutual understanding between the peoples of the two countries and creates objective opportunities for their closer cooperation.

The following took part in the talk:

On the Soviet side—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister I. Rogachev; Georgian Foreign Minister G. Dzhavakhishvili; L. Chizhov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Pacific and Southeast Asian Countries Administration; N. Solovyev, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Japan, and other officials;

On the Japanese side—Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister T. Kuriyama; Japanese Foreign Ministry department general directors T. Togo and Kh. Fukuda [both names as published]; T. Muto, Japanese Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the USSR; and other officials.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Government Forces Lift Jalalabad Siege

LD0905201589 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] In Afghanistan government troops have lifted the siege of Jalalabad and are building up offensive operations on the positions of insurgents near that city. An Afghan Government spokesman has said in Kabul insurgent units were forced to roll back by up to 40km in some directions. He said that over the past 24 hours more than 100 insurgents had been put out of action and a great amount of weapons seized. He said that last night the insurgents had fired three rockets on Kabul. The raid inflicted casualties and damaged a hospital in the center of the city.

Afghan Rebels Bombard Kabul, Jalalabad

LD0905202389 Moscow TASS in English 2006 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] Kabul May 9 TASS—The new rocket bombardment of Kabul today killed one person and damaged apartment houses.

State Security Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan staffers today rendered harmless 22 land-to-land missiles in a Kabul district. Nine similar rockets were defused in Deh Sabz District, Kabul Province.

Opposition diehards supported by Pakistani tribal militia units pounded anew the city of Jalalabad and security posts of government troops in the past 24 hours, killing six people and injuring eight. Eleven apartment houses and a mosque were partially destroyed.

The artillery fire of the Jalalabad garrison killed 37 and injured more than 20 rebels, disabled two long-range guns and blew off an ammunition depot.

Afghan Army units conducted a successful operation against rebel units which tried to blockade the Kabul-Jalalabad road in the areas of Sarowbi. Fifteen mujahidin were killed and 24 wounded during the fighting.

Opposition forces again bombarded with rockets and shells populated localities in Herat and Qandahar provinces, and in Khowst District in the past 24 hours. There has been no word about casualties.

Charge d'affaires of Pakistan in Afghanistan was today summoned to the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan to lodge a strong protest over the Pakistani Foreign Ministry's groundless accusations against Afghanistan, specificaly, to the effect that Pakistan allegedly came under rocket fire from Afghan territory.

The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan handed over another three notes to the UN Good Offices Mission. The documents cite new facts of the violation by Pakistan of Geneva agreements provisions.

Geneva Accords Key To Resolving Afghan War

PM0905124389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Gennadiy Vasilyev "Viewpoint": "No Peace in Afghanistan"]

[Text] The bloodshed in Afghanistan continues: rocket strikes on Kabul by armed extremists; fierce fighting around Jalalabad; an endless list of more and more casualties, including casualties among peaceful inhabitants. Reluctant to embark on the path of a political settlement, the intransigent opposition is continuing its bacchanalia of violence with external support and with the direct involvement of Pakistani servicemen and military advisers from other countries, seeking to decide the country's fate in its own favor by force of arms. The hopes of peace under Afghan skies, which emerged after the signing of the Geneva agreements and were reinforced by the now complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Republic of Afghanistan [RA], are not yet fated to be realized.

The war in Afghanistan is continuing. And yet the situation in the country now is different from what it was before the last subunit of the Soviet troop contingent left Afghan territory. And those who stubbornly refuse to reckon with reality are beginning to realize this. Characteristic admissions have begun to appear in the U.S. mass media.

Here is what the U.S. CBS company broadcast recently in a review of the latest news: "The Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan has not led to the end of the war in that country. However, a change in people's sentiments has now occurred in Afghanistan, and many are beginning to consider the United States the chief source of the continuing bloodshed." As this company's correspondent said in his report from the scene of events: "In market squares and in mosques people are asking why the United States is continuing to supply the mujahidin with weapons that make it possible to continue the war." He cites the words of an Afghan trader: "A U.S. rocket fired at this mosque killed 40 people. Why does President Bush bring us death?" According to the program presenter, there are also critics of Washington's Afghan policy in the United States itself, who believe that the present policy takes no account of the realities, including the strength of the RA Government's positions, and "is leading to the alienation of certain groups of the country's population."

Yes, the war in Afghanistan is continuing, but the political and even the psychological atmosphere in the country now is different from what it was before the Soviet troop withdrawal. The armed opposition has been deprived of an important trump card from all the previous years—the ability to portray itself as a fighter for the country's independence by speculating on supposedly infringed national dignity. It is becoming more obvious to many people that, being reluctant to accept reconciliation and continuing the bloodshed, it is pursuing egotistic, extremist ends that have nothing in common with the Afghan people's interests. It is far harder now both for foreign patrons and the mujahidin's mentors—those who supply them with weapons and urge them to continue the war—to masquerade as "champions of freedom."

On the other hand, the country's government, which has ended up one-on-one with the revolution's enemies, has found within itself a strength that many people did not suspect existed. The failure of the mujahidin offensive against Jalalabad, supported by Pakistani servicemen, has given serious food for thought to those who were predicting that "the Kabul regime will fall as soon as the Soviet troops leave Afghan territory."

Life shows that a gamble on force is hopeless and that peace in Afghanistan can be restored only by political means. It is now more necessary than ever to make an effort to end the continuing bloodshed in Afghanistan. Everyone involved in the events in and around that country must display a sense of reason, responsibility, and realism. The policy of national reconciliation in that country accords with the interests of the Afghan people and their neighbors, with the interests of the entire international community. A clear-cut international framework for peace in Afghanistan—the Geneva agreements—exists. The governments of the RA and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, which signed the Geneva agreements, pledged to build their relations in accordance with the principle of noninterference and rejection of intervention in other states' affairs. The Soviet Union and the United States are the guarantors of these agreements. The USSR and the RA are strictly and punctiliously fulfilling their adopted pledges. A return to Geneva, not a departure from it, is the way to settle the Afghan conflict.

Afghan War's History, Peace Prospects Viewed

PM0505153589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Doctor of Historical Sciences Yu.V. Gankovskiy, chief scientific staff official at the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute, by V. Skosyrev: "A Lesson Worth Learning. War in Afghanistan Through a Historian's Eyes"; date, place of interview not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Afghanistan was an open wound for us for almost 10 years. But let us be honest with ourselves. Although the Soviet soldiers who were sent over the Amu Darya selflessly fulfilled their duty, as befits true sons of the fatherland, our involvement in the war in Afghanistan aroused great doubts at home. Our people did not accept this war. That is confirmed by letters pouring in to the editorial office, letters whose writers demand explanations as to why Soviet troops were sent outside national

borders without the sanction of the Supreme Soviet and without the slightest attempt to determine public opinion in advance. Readers also ask about the current situation in Afghanistan and the prospects for a settlement of the conflict.

Our interlocutor today is Doctor of Historical Sciences Yu.V. Gankovskiy, chief scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute.

[Skosyrev] Yuriy Vladimirovich, first of all, why, in your opinion, was the Soviet Union so deeply involved in Afghan affairs?

[Gankovskiy] The fate of Afghanistan cannot fail to concern us. The USSR has a common border of around 2,400 km with Afghanistan. Starting in 1919 we gave Afghanistan the most extensive aid. For instance, by 1978 we led the whole world in terms of the volume of economic aid to this country. More than 3,000 Afghan officers were trained in our country even before the April 1978 Revolution. You cannot remove that from the scales of history.

[Skosyrev] Agreed. But it is one thing to cooperate with a neighbor in various spheres, including the military sphere, and quite another to send your troops in to support it. You have visited Afghanistan many times in the last 10 years and taken part in conferences to elaborate policy regarding this country. Tell me: What compelled our leadership to cross this fateful line in 1979?

[Gankovskiy] That is not an easy question. It is well known that a high-level commission on Afghanistan was functioning at that time. It had the task of making recommendations on how to act when armed detachments from right-wing extremist groupings were infiltrating the territory of a neighboring state with which we were linked by a friendship treaty. I must say that interference from Pakistan began to increase straight after the April Revolution, although, of course, the nature and scale of this interference cannot be compared with what is happening now.

We could have resorted to political and diplomatic methods. I am sure that they were not fully exhausted. Alas, another directive prevailed. Remember: Louis XIV's guns bore the following inscription: The king's final argument. We also used this "argument." Paying no heed to Afghanistan's special features, we expected to rapidly stabilize the situation and bring our soldiers home. Things turned out differently. The 40th Army fought there for 9 years and 7 weeks. That is the longest war Russia has fought since 1813.

[Skosyrev] But did no one object to a step fraught with grave consequences in both the military and international contexts?

[Gankovskiy] It is not for nothing that we describe that as the time of stagnation. Let me recall something that the press has already made public: The decision to send the troops in was taken behind closed doors by a few top state leaders.

Admittedly, doubts were voiced. But L.I. Brezhnev had the final say.

[Skosyrev] That practice has been condemned today. But it is also important to clarify another point: Was the information received by people "at the top" and forming the basis of the leadership's directives sufficiently accurate?

[Gankovskiy] Not always, unfortunately. I don't want to be misunderstood. Our country had people with an excellent grasp of Eastern problems working in the Afghan area. But their opinions were not heeded.

On the other hand, the quality of information sometimes did not match the events. Obviously, the fact that a scientific center to study Afghanistan was not set up also took its toll. One does not exist even now (whereas there are such centers in the United States and certain other Western countries!). As a result a comprehensive, scientifically-based policy on Afghanistan was not elaborated in a timely fashion.

Sometimes insufficiently competent people supplied the information. Here is an example. I once read a report in Moscow on the situation in Pakistan's Pushtun tribal zone, through which the main flood of arms to the rebels passed. This report was quite unsatisfactory. Some 3 days later I flew to Kabul and met the author of the report at the embassy; he had been sent from the USSR as adviser to a Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [DRA] minister. He turned out to be a man of about 30 with a pleasant manner. Since the facts in the report were clearly at odds with reality, I had to hold something like an examination for my interlocutor. It emerged that he did not know the area occupied by the tribes' zone or the size of the population there. At the end of the conversation I asked him the following question: "What institute did you graduate from?.." He stopped short, and then named a medical institute in one of Russia's oblast cities.

[Skosyrev] Isn't that why we were overoptimistic in our assessment of the prospects of the April Revolution? We even described it as a socialist revolution...

[Gankovskiy] I know of only one article in a Soviet scientific journal that claimed that Afghanistan embarked on socialist transformations after 1978. Other scientific articles described the April Revolution quite correctly as a national democratic revolution. The April coup did indeed play a key role in the country's history. It was long overdue: it was no accident that a major U.S. Afghan specialist, Louis Dupree, issued the following warning a year before: If the Daoud regime does not implement reforms, revolution is inevitable.

Unfortunately, under H. Amin, that small-scale Afghan Pol Pot, the prestige of the new power was undermined by mass arrests, shooting of undesirables, hasty reforms that did not accord with national traditions, and executions of Muslim clergy. The size of many Afghan Army units was reduced by a factor of 3-4 in 1979 and the number of officers by a factor of 10.

[Skosyrev] The Amin regime caused Afghanistan tremendous misfortunes—that is undisputed. But who in our country decided to take on the task of ridding another country of a dictator? Our press provided, to put it mildly, biased coverage of events linked with this. Let us try to shed some light on the matter. First, did you meet our soldiers who were transferred to Kabul at the end of December 1979?

[Gankovskiy] Of course I met them. Admittedly, I only flew to Kabul 2 weeks later and did not witness the operation. What can I say? Amid the atmosphere of terror and repressions unleashed by H. Amin, many active participants in and supporters of the April revolutionary coup were forced to seek political asylum in foreign embassies (ours included). Others went underground and actively opposed the regime headed by H. Amin and, of course, asked for help. After the regime was overthrown, they entered the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] and the DRA Government.

There are Afghan articles that say that it was these people who planned and prepared the assault on the presidential palace. But from conversations with our officers, it became clear to me that a subunit of ours from the limited contingent of Soviet troops also took part in the operation. The fighting did not last long. Moreover, apart from H. Amin's bodyguards, no one made any attempt to come to the defense of the regime he headed.

I think it is time to tell the whole truth, however hard it may be, because books on this topic have been published abroad. Silence on our part will only fuel conjecture and speculation.

[Skosyrev] The withdrawal of our units from Afghanistan was not merely an act of statesmanship. It is also a concrete and palpable result of restructuring and won our people's approval. On the other hand, when conversation turns to the beginning of the Afghan war, varying opinions are voiced. Since we have acknowledged that the problem cannot be settled by military means, it would seem that it follows unequivocally that sending Soviet soldiers to Afghanistan was a mistake. Nevertheless Army General V.I. Varennikov, commander in chief of Ground Forces, said recently in an interview with NOVOYE VREMYA that, considering the threat to our southern borders that arose in 1979, the decision was the right one...

[Gankovskiy] Well, we have pluralism of opinions. But, as an infantry officer and a war veteran, I cannot imagine that anyone could have threatened our power without risk to themselves. Of course, a situation whereby a hostile government was in power in a neighboring country could not have been to our liking. However, it certainly does not follow from that that we had to react to the situation as we reacted in 1979...

It turned out, alas, that a Soviet military action that was not undertaken with expansionist intentions was seen in the West and in many Muslim states as an attempt to broaden the boundaries of "Soviet influence." It is only now after we have demonstrated our devotion to the new thinking through practical actions that ideas of Moscow's aggressiveness are being dispelled.

[Skosyrev] Yet the United States is continuing to add fuel to the fire of the war today. Moreover, U.S. supplies are above all falling into the hands of extremist mujahidin groupings. Even the U.S. press writes that if Muslim fanatics are victorious, that would be a blow to U.S. interests.

[Gankovskiy] The point is that people in the United States see Najibullah's government as pro-Soviet and want to establish people they like in Kabul. It is not enough that this approach is confrontational and jeopardizes the prospect of settling other regional conflicts. I think high-ranking Washington officials involved in elaborating policy nurture illusions of an early victory for the mujahidin. Let me refer to my conversation with a State Department spokesman late last year. Although this man is a specialist in Asian problems, he assured me that the Afghan Army has just 30,000 men and is quite ineffectual.

[Skosyrev] The force of the resistance encountered by the armed opposition around Jalalabad and in other areas was indeed unexpected...

[Gankovskiy] The "hardliners" and their patrons in the West and Pakistan failed to consider three factors. First, during the 40th Army's stay in the country the Afghan Armed Forces were completely reorganized and equipped with modern combat hardware. Their numerical strength, excluding territorial formations, exceeds 300,000 men. Most of the officers are members of the PDPA. Second, there has practically never been unity within this party set up in 1965, with one brief exception. Now, under emergency conditions, the former disagreements have disappeared. That is very important. Third, the government's supporters know that they are fighting for their lives and those of their friends and relatives. I have met some mujahidin leaders, and they say openly that only he who can flee will survive.

[Skosyrev] Brutality and fanaticism go hand-in-hand.

[Gankovskiy] It is not only a matter of fanaticism but also of traditions. A Pushtun does not have the right to forgive an insult or the slightest damage to his property. They even have a proverb: "He who forgives an insult is not a Pushtun."

I do not want to suggest that this people is vengeful. On the contrary, the Pushtuns have the splendid custom of straightening out disputes without bloodshed. A jirga meets and its decisions must be carried out unquestioningly. If the Afghans were left in peace, they would be able to come to an agreement.

[Skosyrev] But people in Pakistan apparently do not want that. Or, to be more precise, the generals and their intelligence service, who are distributing supplies among the mujahidin, do not. Although the war in the neighboring country is causing instability and an increase in interethnic clashes in Pakistan itself, Islamabad is increasingly broadening its intervention. What is happening here, perhaps shortsightedness on the part of the strategists?

[Gankovskiy] It is more a case of the complex interweaving of interests among Pakistan's ruling circles. Judge for yourself. There are approximately 90 nongovernmental and semigovernmental organizations in the West engaged in fundraising for Afghan refugees and the mujahidin. No less than $1 billion in donations and supplies are collected annually. Of this sum only 20 percent reaches the refugees and the mujahidin: 50 percent lines the pockets of Pakistani officers and officials, and 30 percent is distributed among Afghan counterrevolutionary leaders.

On the other hand, there are, of course, responsible people in Pakistan who are seeking a settlement. But they would like to foist on Afghans as a leader a Muslim fundamentalist like G. Hikmatyar, to whom the Pushtuns' national aspirations are alien and who will not support the demands of Pushtuns living in Pakistan.

[Skosyrev] In view of the difficulties facing the Republic's regime and the discord among its opponents, how do you see the outcome of the conflict?

[Gankovskiy] The alternative is clear. One way is to continue the civil war. The Afghans do not want the war, if only because it may lead to their homeland's disintegration. In effect, this process is already gradually taking place. Several "zones of influence" have already emerged. One is, for instance, Hazarajat in the mountainous center of the country, where the Hazaras live.

The other prospect is a political compromise and the cessation of outside interference. There is a basis for reconciliation—that is, the Geneva agreements, every point of which must be observed consistently and scrupulously. Only the fulfillment of these agreements can guarantee that Afghanistan will be preserved as a united, independent, and nonaligned state.

PLO's 'Arafat Disagrees With Rafsanjani Statement

LD0805122989 Moscow TASS in English 1218 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] Tunis May 8 TASS—Palestine Liberation Organisation chairman Yasir 'Arafat expressed disagreement with a call by Hashemi-Rafsanjani, speaker of the Iranian parliament, to take vengeance on Americans, the British and the French for the loss of life suffered by the Palestinian people during the uprising on the occupied Arab lands.

Speaking at a news conference in the Tunisian capital, the Palestinian leader noted that Israel bears the entire responsibility for the carnage on the occupied territories and called on the international community to put pressure on Tel Aviv to put an end to outrages against Palestinians. He requested the five permanent members of the UN Security Council to take quick and efficient moves to stop the bloodshed in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

New killings of innocent Palestinians on the occupied territories were Israel's only answer to peaceful Palestinian inititives, said 'Arafat. However, all Palestinian proposals aimed at a peaceful settlement remain in force, he went on to say. The PLO and the Palestinian people recognise Israel's right to safe existence and denounce all forms of terrorism.

Soviet-Aided Power Station Starts Up in PDRY

18070260 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 4 May 89 p 1

[TASS report]

[Text] Aden, 3 May (TASS)—The third turbogenerator with a capacity of 25 megawatts has gone into operation at the Adenskaya TES [thermoelectric power station], which was constructed with assistance from the Soviet Union. With its start-up, the capacity of the thermoelectric power station reached 75 megawatts, which is about half of all the electric power produced in the country.

The station is being constructed on the basis of a Soviet-Yemeni Government agreement. It includes a two-unit complex—a TES with an overall capacity of 125 megawatts (five turbogenerators with a capacity of 25 megawatts each) and a desalting complex with a productivity of 42,000 tons of distillate a day.

The startup of the third section of the TES, which is the largest of the facilities being constructed with the help of the USSR, is a landmark event in the life of the PDRY [People's Democratic Republic of Yemen], Republic Minister of Energy and Minerals S.A.B. bin Husaynun said in a conversation with a TASS correspondent. The Yemeni people regard the complex under construction as practical evidence of the stable friendship that binds the peoples of the Soviet Union and Democratic Yemen, the minister noted.

East Europe

Hungary Dismantles Barriers, 'Outmoded' Thinking

PM0905101989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[V. Gerasimov dispatch: "Busy Day in Hegyeshalom. 'Dismantling' the Barriers on the Hungarian-Austrian Border"]

[Text] The village of Hegyeshalom on the Hungarian-Austrian border—a cool foggy morning. Border guards wearing warm brown and green jackets were sorting out their tools—spades and heavy wire-cutters. A tractor rumbled nearby. There was "hot" work to be done: The electric defense and alarm system had to be dismantled. Newspaper, television, and movie reporters feverishly prepared to take photos. Then came an historic moment: The first hole was made in the barriers. This act gave fresh and extremely weighty confirmation to the openness of Hungarian policy proclaimed by the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] on the basis of the new political thinking.

The border.... It separates countries. The first barriers were put up in 1949 on the Hungarian side at a depth of 2km from the border. Fields "bristling" with land mines also appeared. In 1965 it was decided to clear the mines but then work began on a new electric defense and alarm system. A multilayered system. Rows of barbed wire and live 16-volt electric cables stretched for 260 of the border's 350 km. It seemed that the ferroconcrete and metal posts had risen to guard the border forever. But the Helsinki agreements, with which we are all familiar, shook these posts.

In the latter half of the seventies and the early eighties Hungary did a great deal to open up "ways" into the peaceful world, react flexibly to international agreements, and help hold talks between the great powers. Janos Kadar and other MSZMP leaders of the time reckoned that even small countries can contribute to the development of equal East-West cooperation.

"Hungary's activity in the foreign policy sphere was successful and this was primarily attributable to our extremely responsible approach to the Helsinki act," Gyula Horn, Hungarian Foreign Ministry state secretary, stated recently. "This document enabled us to show in practice our specific nature, which determines our openness toward the outside world."

...Some 156 million forints were spent before 1971 on constructing the defense system. Some 40 million now need to be spent to eliminate it. But many hectares of land that were cut off in the strict regime zone are now being returned to surrounding agricultural cooperatives and state farms. Colonel Balazs Novaky, first deputy chief of the Hungarian Interior Ministry border troops, cited these figures at Hegyeshalom.

"The barriers had become outmoded, not only from the technical viewpoint but also from the political viewpoint," he told journalists. "Our contacts with Austria are constantly expanding. Reform processes within Hungary are also helping consolidate this policy: Figuratively speaking, the barriers in the way of constructing a common 'European home' are being demolished."

But are they being demolished on all sides? In Hungary any capable citizen has the right to obtain a passport for an unlimited number of trips abroad. For instance, visas have not been needed for travel to and from Austria for a long time. Similar agreements have also been concluded recently with Scandinavian countries, Cyprus, Malta, Nicaragua, and a number of socialist countries. Once every 3 years every Hungarian citizen can "buy" $450 at the official rate for foreign travel. Some 17-18 million tourists and foreign visitors visit the country annually, receiving an entry visa very rapidly, without any difficulties.

Hungary has frequently suggested that NATO countries introduce visaless entry and exit. But at present the answer is "no." Despite the agreement with the EEC, there are still "barriers" to Hungarian goods that will only be removed once and for all in 1995. At present Hungarian goods are liable to customs duties 7-8 percent higher than those levied on goods from EEC countries. Restrictions on agricultural produce are particularly great. Thus the demolition of the "obstructive pillars" in the way of constructing a common "European home" still looks, alas, one-sided and limited. The desire for mutual trust sometimes comes up against old prejudices.

"The dismantling of the border barriers has begun at a time when outmoded barriers in thinking are being dismantled," NEPSZABADSAG wrote in connection with the events on the Hungarian-Austrian border. "Hungary reacts with a sense of sincere friendship to everyone, irrespective of their political convictions."

Murakhovskiy Receives Polish Minister Olesiak

PM0805184189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] K. Olesiak, deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers and Polish minister of agriculture, forestry, and food industries, is in the Soviet Union as a guest of the Soviet Government, with an entourage.

K. Olesiak was received by V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. During the meeting, there was a detailed exchange of information on the questions of further developing the agro-industrial complexes of the two countries, on the course of restructuring under way in the Soviet Union, and on the course of socialist renewal being followed in Poland.

They discussed the results of bilateral scientific and technical and economic cooperation and determined tasks for the immediate future. They devoted special attention to the development of such forms of collaboration as direct ties, joint enterprises, scientific collectives, and laboratories.

During his visit, K. Olesiak will be acquainted with the experience of work of several collective farms (kolkhozes), state farms (sovkhozes), and enterprises in the agro-industrial complex and will visit the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) and Lvov Oblast.

Silesian Mine Strike Situation 'Normalized'

PM0805094689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 May 89 First Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Agreement Reached"]

[Text] Warsaw, 4 May—As the news agency PAP reports, strikes began on Wednesday in a number of coal mines in Katowice voivodship.

Strike readiness was declared at 27 coal mines. The miners have put forward demands to introduce a new remuneration system in the mining industry until index linking of wages in relation to price rises is introduced. The main demands are for higher remuneration over the 5-day working week, from Monday to Friday, and to make work on Saturdays completely voluntary.

The demands, put forward by miners' unions that at first belonged to the All-Polish Trade Unions Alliance and then to "Solidarity," and immediately supported by threats of strikes, are unjustified and impossible to fulfill in the country's current situation, M. Wilczek, Polish minister of industry, stated. Their fulfillment would lead to the miners receiving a proportionally higher level of remuneration than the average in industry on a scale of 2.2 to 1, which would provoke a flood of demands for wage rises over and above the limits of the index-linking level established by the "roundtable," and this could mean a financial recession in the state or the deduction of funds designated for social causes.

The minister called on the miners to end their strike action.

In this morning's news broadcast, Polish Central Television reported that two mines in Silesia have ended their strike. Others have revoked their readiness to strike. The normalization of the situation in the coal mining industry became possible thanks to talks that ended successfully last night between representatives of the state association for the coal mining industry and the labor collectives. An agreement on introducing index-linking of prices and incomes at the sector's enterprises in accordance with the "roundtable" agreements was reached.

'Encouraging' Developments in Kosovo Outlined

PM0805114989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
8 May 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Dispatch by own correspondent Ye. Vostrukhov: "Kosovo: Light and Shade"]

[Text] Belgrade—The special measures taken by the SFRY Presidency in response to extremist actions by separatists in Kosovo were timely and have brought, as the Yugoslav press reports, encouraging results on the whole. All enterprises, organizations, and cultural establishments are operating, children are attending school, and people are going about their everyday affairs in the province.

People here have finally seen that the authorities have turned from fruitless discussion and nonbinding appeals to specific, resolute action. The Kosovo League of Communists is trying to involve working people of different nationalities in the struggle against nationalists and separatists. Party organizations are getting rid of opportunist and hostile elements in their ranks. At the recent plenum of the provincial party committee several important former leaders were expelled.

The agonizing process of cleansing primary party and other public organizations and labor collectives of nationalists and separatists is now continuing. New leading cadres are being nominated who consider it their prime task to reduce tension in interethnic relations, stop the flight of Serbs and Montenegrins from the province, and create conditions conducive to their return to Kosovo.

This turn of events has made the nationalists desert the streets and squares and go underground. It would be naive to think that they will abandon their separatist intentions after this energetic rebuff and that they will not try to demonstrate again. However, the federation's enemies have now chosen different but equally base methods: They are setting fire to forests , pulling down telephone wires, and destroying orchards under cover of darkness. Several acts of subversion involving explosives have recently been carried out in Kosovo.

One of the nationalists' provocations pursues the vile objective of panicking Albanian families and threatening the health of their children. Like everywhere else in Yugoslavia children in the autonomous province are innoculated at a set time against infectious diseases, particularly polio. This time round extremists have spread rumors in the cities of Titova-Mitrovica, Urosevac, Podujevo, and many other population centers that "schoolchildren are being sterilized" with a special vaccine and will become infertile.

The whole country is closely following events in Kosovo. According to a poll carried out by the newspaper BORBA, Kosovo's problems are considered among the most important in Yugoslavia. People here understand

that the solution of the protracted crisis affecting the whole of society depends in many respects on normalization of the situation in the autonomous province.

CPSU Delegation Views CPCZ Auditing Experience

PM0805141789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Familiarization With Experience"]

[Text] A delegation of CPSU workers headed by P.Ya. Slezko, deputy chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, visited the CSSR 2-6 May where it was familiarized with the work experience of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] control and auditing commissions and had conversations at a number of party committees and labor collectives.

The delegation leader was received by M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Further on Commemoration of CSSR Liberation Day

CSSR Embassy Holds Reception

PM0805131889 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading "Official Announcements"]

[Text] On 4 May J. Rehorek, CSSR ambassador to the USSR, held a reception to mark the national holiday—the ending of the Czechoslovak people's national liberation struggle and the country's liberation from the fascist occupiers by the Soviet Army.

The reception was attended by G.M. Voskanyan, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; I.P. Aboimov, USSR deputy foreign minister; and other officials.

Yazov Greets CSSR Counterpart

PM0905134589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 May 89 First Edition p 1

[USSR Defense Minister Army General D. Yazov greetings message to Czechoslovak counterpart: "To Comrade Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and myself personally I cordially congratulate you and all servicemen in the Czechoslovak People's Army on this holiday—the 44th anniversary of the end of the Czechoslovak people's national-liberation struggle and Czechoslovakia's liberation from the fascist invaders.

Fraternal Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union are indissolubly linked by close ties of inviolable friendship, mutual assistance, and multifaceted cooperation facilitating successful socialist building in both countries. We value highly the CSSR's weighty contribution to the implementation of the allied states' concerted foreign policy course in the practical activity of the Warsaw Pact Organization and to solving important international problems in the interests of peace and security.

On this portentous day I wish you, Comrade Minister, and all Czechoslovak People's Army personnel further successes in strengthening CSSR defense capability and in improving professional skill.

With communist greetings,
[Signed] Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister.

Jakes, Others Greet Gorbachev, Ryzhkov

PM0905150289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[Message from Milos Jakes, Czechoslovak Communist Party (CPCZ) Central Committee general secretary; Gustav Husak, president of the CSSR; and Ladislav Adamec, premier of the CSSR Government: "To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] Dear comrades!

On behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the president, government, and people of the CSSR, and on our own account, we send you, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and all the fraternal Soviet people sincere comradely greetings and cordial congratulations on the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the Victory of the Soviet Union over Hitlerite fascism and the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army.

The image of the glorious May days of 1945 will forever remain in the memory of our peoples. Today we remember with great respect and gratitude those who brought freedom to our homeland, and we honor the memory of those who gave up the most precious thing for our homeland—their lives.

The freedom born in the joint struggle against fascism opened up new prospects to the people of Czechoslovakia. The past 44 peaceful years have been a period of sustained creative work for the building of a socialist society. Today we are faced with new tasks, and new attitudes and bold actions are required. The path of restructuring and political and economic reform, which the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the CPSU, was the first to tread, inspires and encourages us. Our efforts are directed at achieving a common aim: speeding up the country's socioeconomic development, further raising

the people's standard of living, and strengthening socialism as a dynamically developing and genuinely democratic social system. The 18th congress, which we have started preparing for, will give a realistic evaluation of the results achieved and will determine the direction for further development of comprehensive restructuring and democratization.

We associate our society's progress with all-around cooperation with the fraternal countries of the socialist community, particularly the Soviet Union. A recent meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee general secretaries of our countries clearly showed the indissolubility of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship and determination to strengthen collaboration in the new conditions so that our countries develop successfully along the path of socialism and its magnetic force in the world increases.

We are aware that the most important condition for achieving our goals is the strengthening of peace and security, and we welcome the positive changes taking place under the influence of the new political thinking in international relations. This is made possible to a significant degree by the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the development of which is influenced by the revolutionary processes of restructuring and democratization. The CSSR will continue to participate actively in the joint efforts to improve relations between states with different social systems and remove all obstacles along the path to fruitful, peaceful cooperation between peoples.

Dear comrades!

On the eve of the 44th anniversary of the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army, a historic event leaving a profound impression on the memory of our peoples, we wish you, the fraternal CPSU, and all the Soviet people peace and happiness, and new successes in the cause of restructuring and democratization of society.

[Signed] Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary
Gustav Husak, president of the CSSR
Ladislav Adamec, premier of the CSSR Government

CSSR Attache Writes on Reforms

PM0905172589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 May 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by Major General J. Mrazek, army and air force attache at the CSSR Embassy in the USSR: "Today Is CSSR Liberation Day: In a Firm Alliance"]

[Excerpts] Some 44 years separate us from those glorious May days when the Soviet Army ended its heroic combat path in victory, defeated Hitlerite fascism, and liberated Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia, during the legendary Prague operation. [passage omitted]

Despite the fact that considerable successes have been achieved in the course of socialist building in our country, it is obvious that not all available opportunities are as yet being exploited. The management system has become outmoded and previous attempts to improve the state of affairs were not consistent. Excessively one-sided centralization has fettered people's initiative. The Czechoslovak people have today embarked on the implementation of new unprecedentedly complex revolutionary transformations in society. These are aimed at revealing more fully the potential created in our country in the course of socialist building, achieving a new quality and technical standard of output, boosting labor productivity, and reducing production costs and production prices [proizvodstvennyye tseny] in order to appreciably intensify the economy as a whole.

The main avenues for these transformations were defined by the course of speeding up socioeconomic development mapped out by the 17th Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Congress. The implementation of this program requires the radical restructuring of all aspects of public life and is linked with and brought about by the new thinking, new approaches, and revolutionary actions. It envisages activating creative forces within society, deepening socialist democracy, and developing socialist self-management. In this respect the restructuring under way in all spheres of the Soviet Union's public life is a source of inspiration to us.

The life of our society is profoundly linked with international events. Czechoslovak working people are following with sincere sympathy, hope, and support the efforts being made by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the tireless struggle waged by the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community to avert the nuclear threat and strengthen international security. The new political thinking, by which the Soviet Union and socialist countries are guided in their foreign policy, has rightfully become a synonym for a policy of peace and humanism, a truly human approach to solving vitally important questions of concern to our entire planet. It is a policy that enjoys increasing sympathy and support from peace-loving and realistic forces throughout the world. Socialist Czechoslovakia will continue, in close cooperation and interaction with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community along with all progressive and peaceloving forces, to help ease international tension and develop constructive cooperation in Europe and throughout the world. The new important comprehensive initiative put forward by M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to create a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line where the Warsaw Pact and NATO states meet is also geared toward this. [passage omitted].

CSSR Envoy Gives TV Address

LD0905201789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] [Announcer] Today is the anniversary of the day Czechoslovakia was liberated from the fascist invaders.

In the victorious spring of 1945 the Soviet Army came to the assistance of the people who had risen against the enemy. Prague was liberated. Jindrich Rehorek, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to the Soviet Union, is taking part in our program: [video shows Rehorek in studio]

[Rehorek] Esteemed comrades, dear friends! Every year during May the Czechoslovak people recall with gratitude the Soviet soldiers and partisans who brought them freedom. The Soviet Union's victory over fascism also marked the beginning of new joint construction of socialist society. Over the 44 years that have passed since that time the situation in the world has changed for the better. A weighty contribution to this belongs to countries of the socialist community. This road was not free of obstacles, problems, and blunders. However, it was and is the only true road. Characteristic of us, too, is such a good quality as how to draw lessons from one's own mistakes and shortcomings. An eloquent testimony to this is the example of the new revolutionary step, which is called restructuring in all the languages of the world. And we too, in our country, following the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, proclaimed a new orientation, taking into account our conditions too, in a new approach to resolving tasks that face us. We intend to raise our many-sided cooperation to a new qualitative level. We realize that our unity is the most solid guarantee of successful socialist construction. We do not harbor illusions that our path in the future will supposedly not be connected with difficulties. But we have sufficient experience of joint work, accumulated in the past. We know how to learn from each other. We have put forward a number of joint and individual initiatives both in international and in domestic political spheres. All of these questions were discussed in detail at the recent meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Milos Jakes in Moscow.

Dear friends, permit me on behalf of the Czechoslovak people and its representatives to cordially congratulate you on the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the victory over fascism, to pay a tribute of gratitude to all war veterans for the sacrifices endured by them, and to wish the peoples of the Soviet Union great sucesses in the implementation of all the most important tasks of restructuring. Thank you for your attention.

Ceremonial Meeting Held in Moscow

PM0805184989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Following a Course of Restructuring"]

[Excerpts] The processes of revolutionary renewal being developed in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are geared to reveal socialism's potential and improve the lives of their peoples. This was said at a ceremonial meeting of representatives of Moscow's working people held on 5 May, which was dedicated to the 44th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation from the fascist invaders and the 19th anniversary of the USSR-CSSR Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance. [passage omitted]

The following took part in the meeting: G.M. Voskanyan, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; the leaders of a number of ministries and departments; military commanders; and representatives of party, soviet, and social organizations. [passage omitted]

19-Year-Old Treaty Seen as Basis for 'Close' Links

PM0805134089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent S. Vtorushin report: "Two-Way Traffic"]

[Excerpts] Prague—19 years ago, on 6 May 1970, a new Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance was signed by the USSR and the CSSR. Our own correspondent's item deals with collaboration between the two countries and with Czechoslovakia today. [passage omitted]

At present, 5 Czechoslovak-Soviet joint enterprises and 14 scientific research laboratories and bureaus are already working, and 350 organizations have concluded contracts for direct links. This is made possible by the high degree of trust between the two sides and their traditionally stable political and ideological links.

Cooperation in the form of friendly relations between oblasts has been developing for many years. This enables them to exchange delegations of labor collectives and ideological workers and to establish the closest possible links in the sphere of culture and art, exchanging experience frequently.

Prague and Moscow, the capitals of our two states, are linked in close friendship. Moscow Days regularly take place in the Czechoslovak capital. Similar days take place in Moscow.

The interparty links between the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] and the CPSU are very strong. Last year a program of ideological cooperation between the two parties was signed. These links are strengthened by regular meetings between the top party leaders. The last of these took place halfway through last month during the working visit of Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to Moscow.

Czechoslovakia's foreign policy is unified and coordinated with the USSR and other socialist countries. This consistent and peace-loving policy has won prestige and respect for Czechoslovakia throughout the world. One of Czechoslovakia's latest foreign policy initiatives was

Milos Jakes's proposal to create zones of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between Warsaw Pact and NATO states. Ladislav Adamec, premier of the CSSR Government, turned to the heads of the states having common borders with Czechoslovakia with a proposal to discuss and outline joint measures to solve ecological problems. The majority of European countries have reacted to these initiatives with support and understanding.

The Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and the CSSR is a guarantee of freedom and independence for Czechoslovakia and its development along the path chosen by the people. At the same time it serves as a basis for deepening and broadening collaboration between our countries and strengthening the links between them. In both states restructuring of the economy and democratization of public life is taking place and there is a search for ways to give greater dynamism to all socialist structures.

Intensive work is going on to open up the powerful potential of socialism and strengthen its role as a magnetic force. The experience of each country is very important and it is very useful to share it. The treaty serves these purposes too.

Further on GDR Victory Day Celebrations

Reception at Soviet Embassy

LD0805223689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1950 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] A reception was held at the Soviet Embassy in the GDR on the occasion of 44th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people. It was attended by Comrade Honecker, Stoph, other party and government leaders of the GDR, particpants of the antifascist resistance movement, and representatives of the public.

Silayev, Others at GDR Embassy

PM0805184589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 5 May G. Koenig, GDR ambassador to the Soviet Union, organized a reception to mark the 44th anniversary of the German people's liberation from fascism.

The reception was attended by G.M. Voskanyan, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; I.P. Aboimov, USSR deputy foreign minister; and other officials.

West Europe

Further on Swedish Communist Workers' Congress

Swedish Party Chairman Hagel Speaks

PM0905145689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "A Time of Great Changes"]

[Excerpts] Stockholm, 4 May—The strategy and tactics of the struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress are at the center of attention at the 19th Congress of the Swedish Communist Workers Party [APK]. Around 200 envoys of the various regional party organizations in the country are participating in the forum which opened today in Tensta, a working-class suburb of Stockholm. Among the foreign guests was a delegation from the CPSU led by V.I. Kalashnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Volgograd Oblast party committee.

Rolf Hagel, chairman of the APK board, delivered a report to the congress, summing up the results of 3 years of work and outlining current areas of party activity. The times we live in, he said, are a period of great change. The changes taking place require thorough examination and analytical evaluation. [passage omitted]

Great changes are now taking place in the life of Soviet society, the speaker said. Restructuring is called upon to find the path for the development of socialism in the new conditions, and to correct all the distortions and mistakes that occurred in the past. Swedish Communists welcome all steps that could make socialism more effective and more attractive, broaden democracy, and implement the advantages of the socialist system in the interests of improving the life of the people's masses. The speaker stressed that the APK expresses true solidarity with the socialist countries and with everyone who fights for national liberation, social justice, and democracy.

The fact remains indisputably true, he noted, that every people adheres to its own conception of the building of socialism and resolves various questions in close coordination with its concrete possiblities and traditions. The Swedish workers' movement has managed to implement considerable reforms and rights. The Communists played an important role in this struggle together with the Social Democrats. However, the contradictions characteristic of capitalism survive in Swedish society.

In these conditions, R. Hagel noted, it is necessary to strengthen the APK on a Marxist-Leninist basis. Closing ranks, the party is aiming to coordinate its activity with other branches of the workers' movement. The report welcomed the intraparty discussion on the problems of this coordination, which was launched on the eve of the congress. The speaker declared himself in favor of renewal and improvement of the forms of APK activity so that they they would accord better with the improving

educational standards of the working people, the radical change in production processes, and the increased role of young people in society. He who struggles for peace, development, solidarity, and socialism, R. Hagel stressed, will find his place in the party ranks.

CPSU Delegation Departs Sweden

LD0905171789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1520 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] Stockholm 9 May (TASS)—A CPSU delegation, headed by V.I. Kalashnikov, member of the Central Committee of the CPSU and first secretary of Volgograd Oblast party committee, which took part in the work of 29th congress of the Swedish Communist Workers' Party [APK] left Stockholm for home today. It was seen off at the airport by (Dan Ganstrem) secretary of the APK leadership, and USSR Ambassador to Sweden B.D. Pankin.

Moscow Delegation Begins Tour of Italian Cities

AU0905092889 Rome ANSA in English 0842 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] (ANSA) Milan [no date as received]—A delegation from the Moscow City Council under Mayor Valeriy T. Saykin arrived here Monday [8 May], the first stop of a ten-city tour, to meet city officials and to sign accords with private and state business representatives, local officials said.

The sources said that in Milan, Saykin met with managers of the Banca Commerciale Italiana and with the Acqua Company, both of which have been active for years in the Soviet Union.

The Moscow City Council and Acqua have formed a joint venture, called Prima, for the region's environmental recovery, with a turnover estimated at 14.4 million dollars.

In the afternoon, Saykin met with City Mayor Paolo Pillitteri and visited a store of the market chain, Esselunga, to study large distribution techniques.

On Tuesday the delegation will go to Turin.

Soviet-Cypriot Talks on Nonaligned Movement Noted

PM0805094789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under rubric: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Soviet-Cypriot consultations on Nonaligned Movement issues have been held in Nicosia. They were attended on the Soviet side by S.Ya. Sinitsyn, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Nonaligned Movement Department, and Yu.Ye. Fokin, USSR ambassador to the Republic of Cyprus; and on the Cypriot side by A. Mavrommatis, Ministry of Foreign Affairs director general.

The Soviet representative was received by Y. Iakovou, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Cyprus.

Council of Europe's Overtures to East Noted

PM0805103989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Yu. Kovalenko dispatch: "F. Mitterrand: Overcoming the Division of Europe"]

[Text] Paris—The French president has called on members of the Council of Europe, which unites 23 countries, to develop relations with East European countries.

Addressing the Parliamentary Assembly and the Foreign Ministers Committee of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg on the 40th anniversary of the organization's formation, the president declared: "I believe that the time has come to establish closer ties, distinguished by innovation, between the two Europes without any preconditions." In order to overcome the division which developed in Europe as a result of World War II, F. Mitterrand went on to note, it is necessary to produce initiatives promoting the development of exchanges and cultural ties. He also proposed granting the status of observers at the Council of Europe to some East European countries.

The fate of all Europeans is interconnected, he declared, no matter to which part of Europe they belong.

Let us recall that the Council of Europe, whose headquarters is in Strasbourg, was formed as a consultative organization to assist integration processes in West Europe. Its activity, which is still little known among the general public, focuses mainly on socioeconomic and humanitarian cooperation. Over the last few years the Council of Europe placed emphasis on examination of East-West problems and pan-European processes. Its main organs are the Foreign Ministers Committee and the Parliamentary Assembly.

A number of resolutions recently adopted by the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly positively assess the process of restructuring and democratization now under way in the Soviet Union and the establishment of official relations between the EEC and CEMA. Contacts between the Council of Europe and our country along parliamentary lines started developing in the last few years. Last year delegations of Soviet parliamentarians visited the council's headquarters on two occasions.

In turn the Council of Europe Foreign Ministers Committee decided to send to Moscow a delegation comprising the heads of foreign policy departments from the Netherlands, Norway, and Portugal to discuss questions of possible cooperation between that organization and the Soviet Union. In addition, the Council of Europe has

invited Hungary and Poland to join its cultural conventions. The newspaper LIBERATION perceives this initiative as the first step toward these countries' joining the organization.

Finnish Environment Delegation in Estonia in April
PM0405135589 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 23 Apr 89 p 4

[A. Ploompuu ETA report: "Nature Protection Is Health Protection"]

[Text] An axiom? Yes, of course, when we are dealing with people who think logically and whose hearts bleed for their people and country and the future of the entire planet. The fact that environmental protection recognizes no borders—unreasonable human activity on even the smallest patch of land can lead to irreversible processes on an unpredictable scale—is a universally recognized truism. Unfortunately, the number of sore points in nature is on the increase: How much time do we still have to spend, and what must we do to lessen and eliminate them?

An official Finnish delegation headed by Environment Minister K. Barlund was in our republic 19-21 April to seek a solution to certain urgent problems of nature protection and broaden and deepen cooperation in this sphere. In the tradition of good neighbors and like-minded people, the meeting was not solely confined to noting and discussing facts. The guests visited places where the ecological situation has begun to provoke serious disquiet as time passes and has reached a critical state. Of course, they visited northeast Estonia—the Kokhtla-Yarve and Rakvere areas—since the effects of pollution in that region also have an impact on the other side of the Gulf of Finland.

While flicking through the transcripts of the meetings with the region's leaders, I caught myself thinking how naive and credulous we still are. At any rate an inexperienced person could have formed, if not a totally rose-colored picture, at any rate a more reassuring picture than the real situation from the account given by N. Zakharov, first secretary of Kokhtla-Yarve City Party Committee [Gorkom]. But the members of the delegation were experienced and included many well-known specialists in their field and perspicacious journalists with a good knowledge of environmental conservation problems. Moreover, our neighbors have sensitive a modern tracking apparatus, and the effect of our pollution is so great that it can be seen with the naked eye. Admittedly, something has been done recently to reduce pollution in this slate region and its "capital," but all the same the situation is by no means ideal. For instance, the quantity of phenols in sewage at one outlet was approximately 500 times above the permissible level. The situation with atmospheric pollution is by no means safe; research into the heavy metal content in the discharges has hitherto been inadequate.

Many questions were asked about the fire late last year at the "Estoniya" Mine. A detailed survey carried out by Yu. Tambet, chairman of the Estonian SSR State Committee for Supervision of Safe Working Practices in Industry and for Mine Supervision, explained a great deal. The air temperature in the area of the fire was higher than normal, but the fire has been extinguished once and for all. This means that the earlier conclusions were correct. At least it proved possible to solve that problem, and the phenol content in the water from the mine entering Chudskoye Lake is dropping. Despite that, supervision is not relaxing.

L. Kalyuvee, chairman of Rakverskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee [rayispolkom], made the following brief, clear comments: It is impossible and inadmissible to continue to live in the old way in Vironmaa [an old name for Estonia]; given current technology the extraction of phosphorites is inconceivable, if not criminal. The republic's largest rivers have their source here and, if we are not concerned for the health of our own people, international agreements should at least be fulfilled. The water pumped out of various mines has entered the Gulf of Finland, and this has considerably worsened the position of people living on its shores.

It is well known that a new meat combine is now being constructed in Rakvere. How will another major enterprise affect the environment? The answer is unequivocal: Owing to contemporary antipollution installations environmental pollution will be reduced, and this is largely thanks to Finnish specialists. Equipment now lacking in every region will begin to operate this year. Yu. Niysuke, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Nature Protection and the Rational Utilization of Natural Resources, added that with public help and the support of the republic's government we also hope to restore order in production planning, the restriction of migration, and the resultant burden on the environment.

"The extensive development of production that continued for several decades affected our natural environment," T. Nuudi, chairman of the Estonian SSR State Committee for Nature Protection and Forestry, pointed out. "The situation in many regions of Estonia is critical, and some constituents in our environment are detrimental to people's health. We will only be able to fulfill international agreements if we take radical steps: An environmental protection system has now been operating in our country for 9 months, whereby every area and city must bear responsibility for its living environment. That is why 17 new nature protection administrations were set up at local level. In short, there is one man in every corner of the republic who is obliged to tackle nature protection. Public movements, particularly the 'Greens,' who have in effect drawn all Estonian inhabitants' attention to environmental questions, hold an important place here. Activists from the republic's Nature Protection Society are of great assistance here. The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution

6 December last year on a concept for the development of nature protection within the republic, on the basis of which a program of corresponding measures will be elaborated.

"It is also worthy of note that the State Committee for Nature Protection reports annually to the republic's Supreme Soviet regarding the status of environmental protection. In conditions of restructuring problems linked with the Gulf of Finland have taken center stage: By 1995 there are plans to ensure that all the waters flowing into the Gulf of Finland are biologically purified. Work is continuing on questions of the damage caused by discharges into the atmosphere—the sulfur dioxide content must be considerably reduced. Cooperation must be organized to prevent oil pollution as soon as possible. Prompt exchange of information about accidents is also equally important."

"The fact that we were able to find out the real environmental position was the most important part of our visit," K. Barlund stressed. "Only mutual trust and close cooperation will be able to improve the living world. We have found opportunities for cooperation at all levels. We now need to constantly advance and exchange specialists and experience."

A businesslike and constructive press conference was held, and a meeting with the representatives of the republic's "Greens" and the Estonian Nature Protection Society took place amid abundant exchange of questions and opinions.

During a reception at the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers I. Toome, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, talked in detail about the problems involved in the republic's switch to economic accountability stressing that the way toward true economic accountability and sovereignty cannot be easy. Because we are dealing with a program designed for a long period—a program in which questions of environmental protection occupy a significant place. The following took part in the frank conversation: A. Gren, Estonian SSR foreign minister; T. Nuudi, chairman of the Estonian SSR State Committee for Nature Protection and Forestry; and J. Kaurinkoski, Finnish consul general in Leningrad, who accompanied the delegation on the trip round Estonia.

The guests from Finland left the republic 21 April.

Political & Social

Further Reports on Georgian Republic Investigations

Investigatory Process Outlined

PM0905184789 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 4

[Reprint of 27 April VECHERNIY TBILISI article by Major General of Justice V. Vasilyev, deputy chief military prosecutor: "An Investigation Is in Progress"]

[Text] In connection with the events which took place in Tbilisi in the night from 8 to 9 April this year, criminal proceedings have been instituted on the instructions of the USSR Prosecutor General with the aim of investigating the circumstances of what happened and resolving questions of the liability of the culprits.

For the purpose of the investigation a large investigative team at the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Prosecutor's Office and an investigative group of military jurists have been set up, which are in close contact and cooperation with each other. The investigation group of military jurists includes highly skilled workers. Colonel of Justice Comrade Vladimir Pavlovich Matus, a representative of the Main Military Prosecutor's Office and an investigator for especially serious cases, is heading the investigation group. Supervision of the strict implementation of laws during the preliminary investigation by military jurists has been entrusted to Colonel of Justice Ivan Dmitriyevich Goloveshkin, prosecutor at the Main Military Prosecutor's Office department for especially serious criminal cases.

The investigation group has been given the task of taking all measures provided by law to ensure a comprehensive, full, and objective investigation of the circumstances of the participation of USSR Ministry of Interior internal forces and subunits of the Soviet Army in the events which took place in the early hours of 9 April 1989 in Tbilisi, and the validity of the use of force, special chemical agents, and in isolated cases also of firearms against citizens.

The group has begun to investigate the criminal case. Interrogations of servicemen, command staff, witnesses, and victims are under way, and numerous expert assessments are being carried out. Prominent scientists, and experts in various fields from Moscow, Leningrad, and the Georgian SSR, are involved in conducting the assessments.

It is my opinion that in a joint effort with the Georgian law enforcement organs and scientific specialists we will find the answers to many questions about which all people in our multinational homeland, and the Georgian people in particular, are concerned—and that we will cope with the investigation of the criminal suits that have been initiated, and make decisions which will be strictly in accordance with the law.

Premature conclusions and statements, frequently in categorical terms, which are presently being published in many newspapers and other mass media are not conducive to a sober and calm interpretation of the events that have occurred and frequently, with respect to a whole range of questions, are misleading the public in our country, and the international public as well.

We very much regret the tragic consequences of the events which have taken place.

I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to ask all citizens to have faith in our prosecutors and investigators and give them all-around assistance and help.

Only with your help, dear comrades, will we be able to unravel the causes of what happened.

The investigation continues.

Use of CS, Chloroacetophenone Cited

PM1005110889 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 5 May 89 p 4

[Interview with Georgian Health Minister Irakliy Menagarishvili by ZARYA VOSTOKA correspondent Ketevan Amiredzhibi: "Complete Clarity Is Needed. And Clarity Was Achieved"—date, place of interview not stated; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The country's authoritative medical scientists are playing an active part, along with leading republican specialists, in the investigation and treatment of the victims of the tragic events in Tbilisi. Their opinions and conclusions are unequivocal. Specialists believe that in addition to irritants, unknown gases were also used on 9 April. Clarity has now been achieved on this question, too, and the composition, the chemical formula of the gas has become known. In this connection ZARYA VOSTOKA correspondent Ketevan Amiredzhibi asked Irakliy Menagarishvili, Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic minister of health, to answer a number of questions.

[Amiredzhibi] At the republic Ministry of Health and the treatment institutions where the victims are, regular consultations are held in the course of which up-to-the-minute information is given on the victims' condition, and the entire process of medical aid is analyzed. It is well known that in accordance with the usual principles of clinical toxicology, symptomatic and detoxification therapy is used in the course of treatment. At the same time the broad public, and especially the medical public, has persistently demanded that the departments concerned finally publish the composition of the toxic agents. Such information already exists. What is its nature?

[Menagarishvili] The gas has been identified. It is "CS," which belongs to the group of irritants, but has a marked neurotropic effect. Apart from this substance, as has already been reported, another was also used on 9

April—chloroacetophenone. This too belongs to the group of irritants, but CS has a more marked effect on the central nervous system. Knowing the chemical formula of CS will enable the medics to form a clear picture of adjustments to the treatment process.

In our country there is no experience in treating damage to the organism resulting from the effects of this gas. An intensive search for comprehensive, exhaustive information on this question is therefore under way now.

[Amiredzhibi] On 27 April some of the victims who are patients at the No 2 Hospital and Clinic of the Georgian Health Ministry Fourth Main Administration declared a hunger strike. The next day nine people who were not in the hospital took their place. What is the purpose of this hunger strike?

[Menagarishvili] The hunger strikers were demanding that an International Red Cross commission come, that the composition of the toxic substances used on 9 April be stated, and that an antidote be identified.

All the hunger strikers are under medical supervision, and a special ward has been allocated for them. The term set for the hunger strike by one group expires on 5 May, and the hunger strikers have said that their place will be taken by another group. I do not think there will be a second group. The hunger strike should end. Today, 5 May, we are expecting specialists from the International Red Cross League to arrive in Tbilisi, in the afternoon. The composition of the gases has also been made clear.

Hunger Strikers Support Gas Victims

PM1005111089 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 5 May 89 p 4

[Unattributed report under general heading "This Is Our Humane Duty"]

[Text] "The life of the gas victims is in danger," "We demand that the gas used in Tbilisi be named," "We demand that the gas victims be supplied with the necessary medication"—these banners appeared in Kutaisi on 3 May, in the public garden in front of the teacher training institute, where a group of the city's young people gathered; they have declared a hunger strike in solidarity with the young people poisoned in Tbilisi on 9 April. At present 58 young people are continuing their fast. They stated that they will stop this protest action as soon as the demands of the patients housed in the Fourth Administration's No 2 Hospital are met. Otherwise they will fast for 7 days, after which a new group will take their place.

Georgian Central Committee Bureau Sits 27 Apr

PM0905183189 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 28 Apr 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "At the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] A session of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau was held on 27 April, and discussed topical questions of the republic's sociopolitical life.

The bureau members were informed of the main results of the recent CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which has enormous significance for the progress of restructuring, and also on the meetings between G.G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, and leaders of ministries and departments.

Acquainted with information on the situation in the republic and on the measures being taken by party organizations, M.S. Gorbachev once again expressed deep concern and his own painful feelings in connection with the dramatic events in the capital of Georgia, with whose people he is linked by warm memories and by deep, sincere respect for their wisdom, self-restraint, and great inner culture, which has been clearly in evidence even during these difficult days. The multiethnic city has not allowed itself to be swamped with emotions, and has mustered all its strength and will to prevent complications on interethnic grounds and not lose its faith in the ultimate triumph of democracy and the renewal of socialism. These demonstrations of self-restraint and steadfastness of spirit must be valued, the right conclusions drawn from what has happened, a meaningful and—most important—respectful dialogue held with the intelligentsia, the working class, and young people, and constructive solutions sought in connection with implementing the general party line on a principled ideological basis and within the framework of real socialist values.

The session expressed determination to do the utmost to contribute to the earliest possible establishment of the truth, and to a scrupulous investigation of every circumstance of the events, without exception; instructions have been issued to the leaders of the country's law enforcement bodies in this connection. Light must be shed as soon as possible on every issue which rightly concerns the public. In this respect an enormous role must be played by the press and television, which are now expected to convey to people only the truth and objective, verified information rather than suppositions, which lead them away from the truth.

Considering suggestions made by the public, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has decided to celebrate 26 May as the day of restoring Georgian statehood. The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium, Tbilisi city party committee [gorkom], and also the relevant scientific establishments and social organizations have been instructed to make specific proposals on this issue.

Considering suggestions made by the Tbilisi public to transform the facade of Government House on Rustaveli Prospekt and the aspect of the adjacent territory, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has instructed the republic's Council of Ministers to organize within 1 month the drafting and implementation of a modernization project—of a high architectural planning and artistic standard—which must provide for changing the existing sculptural composition and the entire architectural aspect of the adjacent territory.

The Central Committee Bureau also considers it advisable to set up a commission in the Tbilisi city soviet executive committee to collect suggestions from the city's public concerning the creation of a memorial to the victims of the tragic events in Tbilisi on 9 April 1989.

It also discussed specific questions connected with the situation in the Adzhar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR], where the total damage caused by natural disasters amounts to approximately R250 million. Union bodies are giving great attention to discussing the question of measures to assist the victims of the natural disasters in the Adzhar ASSR, which will help to considerably speed up the construction of housing and sociocultural projects and the task of resettling some 4,000 families from the danger zone to other regions of the republic.

The session of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau discussed cadre and other issues relating to socioeconomic and sociopolitical life in the republic.

Sakharov Attends Georgian Public Meeting 4 May
PM1005111289 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 5 May 89 p 4

[GRUZINFORM report: "Truth Must Prevail"]

[Excerpts] A meeting between USSR People's Deputy Academician Andrey Sakharov and the Georgian public took place on 4 May at the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies. The meeting was attended by USSR People's Deputies Academician Tamaz Gamkrelidze, Eldar Shengelaya, and Parmen Margvelashvili, Georgian SSR Health Minister Irakliy Menagarishvili, members of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet commission to investigate the circumstances of what happened in Tbilisi on 9 April, eyewitnesses, medics, and representatives of informal associations and the mass media.

The guest was briefed on the tragic events of 9 April and the consequences of the poisoning of people with gases used during the dispersal of the demonstration outside Government House. [passage omitted]

A. Sakharov and T. Gamkrelidze briefed the public on a meeting with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and other members of the country's government held in Moscow the previous day.

In the evening A. Sakharov took part in a session of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet commission to investigate the causes of what happened on 9 April.

Calm Gives Way to 'Tension' in Nagorno-Karabakh
LD0905163489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1455 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] Stepanakert, 9 May, (TASS)—The atmosphere of relative calm that was established between January and April on the territory of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] has again given way to tension. Recently, internationality conflicts, incidents of mutual insults, threats from the Armenian and Azerbaijani sections of the population, and instances in which on the roads stones were thrown at cars and buses with passengers from Azerbaijan or Armenia have become more frequent.

Thus, on 5 May in the settlement of Kirkidzhan on the outskirts of Stepanakert, three Armenians entered into a fight with Azerbaijanis. Later on, up to 200 people took part in it. To stop the fight warning shots were fired in the air. Details of the militia and internal forces restored order. However, in the process three civilians and four servicemen were injured. Four cars and a motorcycle were damaged. Criminal proceedings were instituted in relation to the above incident.

On 6 May a window on an intercity "Ikarus" bus that was travelling on the Yerevan-Martuni route was smashed by stones thrown from a passing "Zhiguli" car. The Azerbaijani driver and two passengers in this car were charged with hooliganism. That same day unidentified individuals damaged a multichannel communications cable in Shushinskiy Rayon.

These and the other instances of interethnic discord that have been observed in various population centers of NKAO are taking place against the background of a strike in Stepanakert and a partial strike in the rayon centers. Moreover, Azerbaijani blue and white collar workers are not being allowed to work at Stepanakert's enterprises and establishments, while Armenian workers are afraid to work in Shusha. Industrial enterprises, building sites, part of the road transportation system, and some establishments are strike bound. Vital enterprises, medical establishments, and the communications system are continuing to function. By and large a normal pattern of work is being maintained in Shushinskiy

Rayon and on the oblast's collective and state farms. The NKAO Special Administration Committee is doing everything it can to guarantee the population's provisions.

The main reason for the strike, according to a statement by its participants, was the accelerated construction of industrial and social and domestic facilities in Azerbaijani villages, while nothing of the sort was occurring in the oblast's Armenian population centers. In fact, according to the plan for 1989, the volume of construction in NKAO is worth R96 million, of which R4 million worth is going on in Azerbaijani population centers. Together with the leaders of party and soviet bodies, the Special Administration Committee has reviewed the list for the construction of extraplan facilities.

Passions were also exacerbated by a series of statements in the local and republican mass media, particularly concerning the alleged "Azerbaijanization" taking place in the autonomous oblast. The Armenian side is afraid of a change in the demographic situation in favor of the Azerbaijani side as a result of this process.

The refugee problem remains the most acute source of excitement among the population. In Stepanakert the quantity of refugees has reached 20 percent, and in the oblast as a whole 10 percent of the indigenous population.

A considerable proportion of the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh is expressing distrust in the Special Administration Committee and is demanding the restoration of the oblast authorities and also the effective withdrawal of the NKAO from its subordination to the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic. This is also mentioned in an open letter to M.S. Gorbachev signed by the first secretaries of the town and rayon party committees, the chairmen of the town and rayon executive committees (except for Shushinskiy) and also some USSR people's deputies from the NKAO which has been published in the SOVETSKIY KARABAKH newspaper. After the situation began to heat up these same people signed an appeal to the working people of Nagorno-Karabakh in which they call on the population to show restraint and calm and stress that only the search for peaceful means, patience, and restraint "can lead to the fulfillment of our people's aspirations." Any unlawful actions or disturbances can do irreparable damage to the life and health of our children, families, and friends, says the appeal. However the voices which call for extending the strike for an indefinate period and for converting it into a "civil disobedience campaign" are becoming increasingly loud.

Taking into account the fact that there is still tension among the majority of the Armenian population and that the Azerbaijani population is also excited, the NKAO Special Administration Committee and the military commandant's office for the special region have taken decisive measures to strengthen the maintenance of public order, to prevent and to curtail clashes based on differences between nationalities, and to ensure the safety of citizens. These measures include extending the curfew in the town of Stepanakert and the rayon centers of the special region, stepping up road checks, and having units of servicemen covering the boundaries between areas of Armenian and Azerbaijani population. The forces of law and order and the internal affairs troops of the special region are doing everything they can to ensure people's safety, said A.I. Volskiy, chairman of the NKAO Special Administration Committee, in a conversation with a TASS correspondent. When the lives of children, women, and old people are in danger the state cannot stand aside. This is now the most important task.

On the whole the situation is under control, although it remains tense and complex.

NKAO Situation Called 'Aggravated'

NC1005081389 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] A meeting took place at the special administration committee of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] with the participation of the (?transportation system) workers. Arkadi Volskiy, chairman of the special administration committee of the oblast, opened the meeting.

He mentioned that the situation in NKAO, and in particular in Stepanakert, has been exceedingly aggravated as a result of [words indistinct]. The continuing strikes are further worsening the already exacerbated economic situation [words indistinct]. Today, the priority issue is to prevent all types of eventualities and interethnic [word indistinct] in the areas where the Armenians and Azerbaijanis live together. He underlined that the special administration committee considers ensuring the population's security as its supreme duty. An important role falls on mass transportation to mitigate the tension which has emerged.

Arkadi Volskiy replied to the numerous questions of the people gathered. These questions revolved around the causes of the strike, the ways to emerge from the perilous situation, and the prospects for the NKAO's development.

Rumor of Quake Victims' Move to Stepanakert Denied

PM0205141389 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 20 Apr 89 p 1

[AZERINFORM report: "Rumors and Truth"]

[Text] Anxious telephone calls were received at AZERINFORM and other editorial offices yesterday. People were inquiring whether 130,000 Armenians really had arrived in Stepanakert a few days ago from the devastated city of Spitak to take up permanent residence under an accord between the two republics' leaderships.

AZERINFORM reports in this connection that there has never been nor could there be any accord on the mass resettlement of Armenians to Stepanakert from Spitak or from other Armenian cities and rayons which suffered in the natural disaster. In fact, several thousand Armenian settlers, mainly inhabitants of various rayons and cities of our republic, as well as Azerbaijanis who have left their homes in Armenia, live in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic's Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. They include earthquake victims who have come temporarily to relatives in the NKAO but who do not have a permanent residence permit.

As we see, there are forces ready to spread any lies to fuel passions. They dislike the efficient work rhythm and the full spiritual life of Azerbaijan's working people. The holding of the traditional Novruz Bayramy festival in such a vivid fashion for the first time did not gladden them but alarmed them. The ground is cut from beneath their feet by the implementation by the republic's leadership of the policy of improving the people's lives and asserting the principles of social justice. In a short time our republic has achieved a high pace of individual housing construction, and health care is being developed strongly. A health center is being organized in every village, the large specialized medical centers—diagnostic, cardiological—which have been opened are winning recognition, and new ones are being built. Computerization is enjoying priority development, and the republic is becoming a kind of all-union test bed in this important sphere.

Yes, lovers of gossip and rumors are left with little. And so they invent new ones, each one more absurd than the last, just so as to create tension and divert people from resolving really urgent problems. Under the conditions of glasnost and democracy and of our society's openness all these unworthy attempts are doomed to fail.

Nagorno-Karabakh Health Care Improvements Decreed
PM0105122989 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 15 Apr 89 p 2

[ARMENPRESS own correspondent A. Grigoryan report under the rubric "News From Nagorno-Karabakh": "With Concern For People]

[Text] The Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] Special Administration Committee adopted a resolution "On the State of Medical Services for the NKAO Population and Measures To Further Improve Them."

It particularly notes that the Stepanakert City Party Committee [gorkom], rayon party committees [raykoms], rayon and city soviets, the oblast health department, and the medical workers trade union oblast committee [obkom] has not succeeded in improving medical services to the oblast population, improving its standard and quality, developing and strengthening the material-technical base of the public health system, or cultivating high moral qualities in medical workers.

The level of infant mortality, which has increased by 4.3 percent, remains high. Maternity and children's services have not received priority development in the NKAO. The oblast does not have a standard women's advice service. The supply of foodstuffs to medical establishments is unsatisfactory. Diagnostic work, examination methods, and specialized forms of medical aid have not been up to the required standard, and this is the reason for numerous applications for medical treatment in other cities. The oblast's sanitary-epidemiological service is in an unsatisfactory state. The oblast hospital and the tuberculosis and oncological clinics are in a particularly unfavorable condition.

Rural outpatient clinics and nursing and midwifery centers, with rare exceptions, are located in private homes, school buildings, rural clubs, and facilities which do not accord with basic hygiene conditions.

Over a period of many years questions of building up medical cadres in medical-prophylactic establishments have not been resolved.

Other shortcomings in the public health sphere are noted in the resolution.

The NKAO Special Administration Committee demanded that the Stepanakert Gorkom, party raykoms, city rayon soviet executive committees, and the public health department of the NKAO Special Administration Committee soviet apparatus implement radical restructuring in the public health system, with active use of progressive forms and methods of medical services to the population.

Urgent measures should be taken to reduce children's illnesses and infant mortality and to improve medical assistance for women employed in production and for young children. The need was pointed out to develop specialized forms of medical assistance, to ensure early diagnosis of illnesses, and to have a steady supply of medicines to the population.

It is essential for the Special Administration Committee soviet apparatus to assist the oblast public health department on the question of equipping public health establishments with modern equipment.

The planning commission of the NKAO Special Administration Committee soviet apparatus and the oblast wholesale trade association are in charge of providing medical supplies and equipment to medical-prophylactic establishments and making specific allocations in annual plans of the necessary material resources for public health facilities' repair needs.

Other measures to radically improve medical services to the Nagorno-Karabakh population are also indicated in the resolution.

Shortcomings in NKAO Communications Services Noted
NC0505132289 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 4 May 89

[Text] Stepanakert, 4 May, ARMENPRES—The Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] Special Administration Committee examined the work of the mass communications technical production department of the oblast during its regular session.

It was indicated that a certain amount of work has lately been done in the NKAO towards improving the mass communications network, in particular in the telephone and telegraph services. The number of automatic communications channels with Moscow, Yerevan, and other regions of the country has been increased.

Though the television transmissions have recently been significantly improved, almost 30 per cent of the population of the NKAO still cannot receive the central television transmissions.

Serious shortcomings persist in the organization of the radio broadcast services. Some villages of Martuninskiy and Shushinskiy regions have, in general, not been provided with radio services.

The NKAO Special Administration Committee ordered the leadership of the mass communications technical production department to take urgent measures to resolve the shortcomings and negligence in this sphere. The auto-transportation combine and the regional and city executive committee were advised to provide scheduled transportation means for postal services. In line with an agreement worked out with the USSR Ministry of Communication to set up a direct connection with the intercity automatic telephone center of the union network without going through the Baku and Yerevan centers, a 60-channel direct telephone link with Rostov will be put into operation this year. The planning for an inter-oblast radio relay and retransmission centers will be speeded up, thus enabling the central and Armenian television broadcasts to be received all over the oblast.

The NKAO mass communications technical production department has been advised to complete the master plan for the development of the NKAO's communications network within a month. The special administration committee indicated that it is also necessary to resort to other measures to improve the service to the population.

Yerevan Rallies Urge Poisoning Death Investigation

Militia Displays 'Restraint'
PM0905140589 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "At the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Ministry of Internal Affairs"]

[Text] As the mass media have already reported, A.A. Matevosyan, a worker from the "Anush" Knitwear Production Association knitting shop who, along with a group of other workers, was exposed to poisoning and underwent a course of appropriate treatment and restorative therapy, died 25 April 1989 as a result of a thromboembolism in the pulmonary artery. In this connection a rally was held at the association's main enterprise at which the plant collective demanded that the causes of A. Matevosyan's death be established and that all the facts behind the poisoning be investigated. Party and soviet leaders and representatives of law enforcement organs and the mass media took part in the rally. It was decided to conduct a special forensic medical examination and to involve representatives of the knitwear collective and the press in this along with well-known medics.

However, despite that, speculating on the just demands for full information to be available to the public, a number of irresponsible individuals provoked a citizens' rally involving nearly 3,000 people at the Matenadaran building at 2000 hours and then held an unsanctioned procession through the central streets of Yerevan.

The participants in the procession created serious obstacles to the normal functioning of transport and other municipal services, behaved provocatively, and made insulting attacks on militia workers safeguarding public order. Individual antisocial elements from the aforementioned groups hurled stones and metal bars at the militia's official transport. It was only by a fortunate coincidence that no one was seriously hurt.

Displaying restraint and self-possession, militia staffers did not succumb to the provocative actions and did not allow themselves to be drawn into a conflict with citizens. Preventive explanatory work made it possible to stop further violations of public order.

The illegal actions provoked by irresponsible "leaders" that have become more frequent recently are seriously detrimental to the process of normalizing the situation within the republic and aim to maintain constant tension in order to attain their ignoble aims; this arouses just indignation among the majority of the population.

The republic's Ministry of Internal affairs earnestly entreats citizens not to succumb to the provocative acts by irresponsible individuals and to maintain calm, vigilance, and prudence. Any actions and provocative attacks that maliciously violate public order will be most strictly stopped by militia organs in accordance with current legislation.

The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic voices the hope that the republic's population will display their characteristic supreme civic awareness and maturity and help the law enforcement organs in maintaining due order.

Crowd Disturbs Funeral

PM0905140189 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 30 Apr 89 p 2

[Report from Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Ministry of Internal Affairs: "Act of Provocation Failed"]

[Text] On 28 April, during the funeral of A.A. Matevosyan, a worker at the "Anush" knitwear production association's knitting shop who died as the result of acute cardiac failure as the press reported, irresponsible people, counter to the will and desire of the near and dear of the deceased, did everything to try to use the funeral procession for their own unseemly purposes and to turn it into a noisy demonstration.

These people, consigning to oblivion the Armenian people's national traditions and disregarding the feelings of grief and sorrow of the relations and friends of the deceased, brought crude pressure to bear on them, demanding that the funeral cortege alter its route and go to the city center, in particular to Teatralnaya Square. Seeking the fulfillment of these demands, they created obstacles on the route of the funeral procession to the cemetery, behaved in an extremely provocative manner, and expressed themselves in an unbridled and unprintable manner to the militiamen safeguarding public order, blatantly trying to provoke them to use force.

The militiamen, displaying restraint, did not allow a conflict to emerge. A number of law violators who tried to start a fight were arrested with citizens' assistance....

Convincing evidence of the provocative intent of the entire incident was the fact that when the funeral procession, having passed by the intersection of Sebastiy Street and Leningradyan Avenue, was on its way to the Shaumyanskiy Rayon cemetery, and not to the city center, as the organizers of this unseemly story wanted, a large number of the 4,000-5,000 people who had joined the procession instantly lost their sense of "sorrow." Within a few minutes they had dispersed. That is the true face and degree of seemliness of these uninvited participants in the funeral.

The republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs considers it necessary to warn people speculating on the people's sacred feelings that any illegal actions will be halted immediately and resolutely and their organizers and inciters will answer to the full stringency of the law.

Armenian Party Discusses Poisoning

NC0405142489 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 3 May 89

[Text] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau was briefed by the government commission headed by Levon Saakyan, deputy chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers, concerning the incidents of poisoning in the [words indistinct] and at Anush Knitting Production Combines attached to the Armenian SSR Ministry of Light Industry and at Anahid Production Combine of the Armenian SSR State Committee for material-technical supply, as a result of which 54 workers (?have been) hospitalized.

According to the conclusion of the experts of the USSR State Committee for Standards and of the All-Union Synthetic Thread Scientific Research Institute, traces of poisonous materials unrelated to the production process were found in the knitting [word indistinct] used in that production line where the victims used to work. The judicial bodies are investigating the reasons for the presence of these materials in the reprocessed knitting. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau regarded as insufficient the investigatory work into the causes of the continued poisoning incidents and into uncovering the culprits. It criticized the indecisiveness and sluggishness of the judicial bodies, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Light Industry, and the State Committee for Material-Technical Supply with respect to preventing these incidents. It was decided that no new production lines should be introduced in the enterprises and combines where mass knitting is done [words indistinct] without the permission of the sanitary bodies.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau called on the judicial bodies to speed up their investigation. It advised the Ministry of Light Industry, the State Committee for Material-Technical Supply, and the directors of the ministries and supervisory boards, party committees, and organizations to take urgent and resolute measures as regards the upkeep and utilization of materials. It advised them to establish appropriate regulations with the aim of creating safe working conditions in all the enterprises and organizations, and to raise the personal accountability of their administrators in this regard.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau ordered the republic's Ministry of Health to upgrade the responsibility of its affiliated services in all the enterprises and combines in connection with introducing timely and appropriate sanitary supervision. The Committee of People's Control and [word indistinct]

were advised to establish permanent supervision of the working conditions, labor security technology, and the protection and utilization of the materials in all the enterprises.

Taking into consideration the exigency of the situation, it was deemed appropriate to create a special Armenian Communist Party Central Committee commission under Serobyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. This commission was advised to undertake an in-depth examination of the (?conditions) that produced the incidents of poisoning, to take resolute measures to speedily reveal the effects and causes of these phenomena, to formulate and put into effect such measures that would henceforth preclude the repetition of poisoning in the industry, to conduct the commission's work under wide publicity, to systematically inform the labor collectives and the republic's public about the results, to actively use the meetings with the workers and mass media for this purpose, and to organize television appearances of the commission members.

Yerevan Commandant Notes 'Unsanctioned' Rallies
PM0905135189 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 4

["Appeal From the Military Commandant of the Special Region to the Citizens of Yerevan"—KOMMUNIST headline]

[Text] Ostentatiously disregarding the special situation and the curfew, irresponsible individuals have attempted to organize and hold unsanctioned rallies, as happened 24 and 27 April near Matenadaran. Though one of their demands is for the special situation and the curfew to be abolished, the organizers of and participants in these rallies at the same time have deliberately violated the terms of the special situation and endeavored to wreck the process of stabilizing the situation within the republic, thus effectively impeding the abolition of the special forms of administration.

The military commandant's office in Yerevan City Special Region warns that if there are further attempts to organize and hold unsanctioned rallies and meetings, law enforcement organs will, under the existing terms of the special situation, employ all the necessary measures against their organizers and participants.

We urge citizens to display prudence and truly patriotic awareness, to help the forces of law and order completely stabilize the situation within the republic, and to prevent clashes provoked by inflammatory elements with forces in the commandant's service, during which the organizers and instigators generally take a back seat and totally innocent people are the victims.

The military commandant's office in Yerevan City Special Region explains once again that the matter of lifting the curfew and abolishing the special situation can only be regarded favorably if the situation within the republic is completely normalized.

Announcement Warns Against Yerevan May Day Actions
PM0905133189 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 30 Apr 89 p 4

["Announcement" by Yerevan City Party Committee and Yerevan City Soviet Executive Committee]

[Text] As has already been reported, to meet the wishes of the Yerevan working people it has been decided not to hold a May Day celebration demonstration this year, in connection with the destructive earthquake which afflicted the republic, during which many of the republic's inhabitants lost their families and near and dear ones.

But it has become known from competent sources that groups of irresponsible people, counter to the wish of the capital's labor collectives, and on the pretext of expressing thanks to all countries which rendered assistance in eliminating the consequences of the earthquake, intend to violate established public procedure in the city on May Day and organize unauthorized meetings and processions through the city, for blatantly provocative purposes.

In this connection the Yerevan City Party Committee [Gorkom] and City Soviet Executive Committee [Gorispolkom] believe that any ill-considered, malicious, and inflammatory actions run counter to the Armenian people's real interests, and are aimed at aggravating the situation in the republic and causing clashes between the population and the forces keeping public order.

We appeal to all citizens and guests of Yerevan to display reason, good sense, and a sense of high responsibility, and not to succumb to provocative appeals to take part in unauthorized meetings and processions. No one can be allowed to speculate on the people's national feelings, to cause a shadow to fall on their high reputation, or to perpetrate unseemly actions fraught with dangerous, unpredictable consequences.

[Signed] Yerevan Gorkom, Yerevan Gorispolkom.

Yerevan Party Committee Plenum Held 28 Apr
PM0905145589 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 30 Apr 89 p 2

[ARMENPRESS report: "Dialogue is Means of Rapprochement; Yerevan Armenian Communist Party Gorkom Plenum"]

[Text] A principled and frank talk on measures to further normalize the situation in Yerevan City developed at the Yerevan Armenian Communist Party City Committee

[Gorkom] held 28 April. For the first time a plenum of the capital's party organization was held without the traditional report and debates. A dialogue on problems which perturb everyone developed in the auditorium in the spirit of the recent CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Party Gorkom First Secretary M. Minasbekyan gave information on the situation in the city and the measures which the party gorkom intends to implement with a view to normalizing the situation in the capital. He then invited gorkom members and candidate members and auditing commission members to take part in dialogue.

The following spoke: Doctor of Historical Sciences L. Khurshudyan, chief of the Yerevan State University department of the history of the Armenian people; G. Kirakosyan, secretary of the party committee of the Armenian pedagogical institute named for Kh. Abovyan; excavator operator R. Oganesyan; G. Avetisyan, director of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Academy of Sciences History Institute; R. Miroyan, first secretary of the party rayon committee of the rayon named for the 26 commissars; K. Vardanyan, editor of the newspaper YEREKOYAN YEREVAN; G. Sultanyan, general director of the "Rele" production association; and Yu. Mkrtumyan, secretary of the Yerevan State University party committee.

It was noted that the situation has been normalized to a certain degree compared with what it was before. All industrial enterprises are operating uninterruptedly. The normalization is borne out, if only by the ceremonies of all the people to commemorate the victims of Sumgait 28 February and the victims of the genocide 24 April. At the same time it was emphasized that there are individual elements in the city who used the day of national mourning to hold meetings and processions, thus creating tension in the city.

Having approved the holding of the plenum in the form of a dialogue, those taking part noted at the same time that it is essential to organize similar dialogue with the people's masses, including the representatives of informal organizations. It was emphasized that these organizations, whose programs accord with the interests of the people and serve the cause of restructuring, can become a reliable bulwark for the party. Dialogue is a means of rapprochement. It must be used.

A lively talk about the importance of information developed at the plenum. In ideological work it is exceptionally important to have precise, objective information. When people do not receive information from official sources they begin to derive it from all kinds of rumors. Unscrupulous people take advantage of this. Using, in their speeches, slogans which move the Armenian people, they are in fact concealing their true intentions, which contradict the interests of the nation. Today these elements must be resolutely rebuffed and extensive explanatory work must be done with the working masses.

It was proposed to organize a "roundtable" dialogue, in which all opponents would be given the right to participate. The city party organizations must have their decisive say in stabilizing the situation in the capital and must promote the normalization of life. This idea pervaded the Yerevan Armenian Communist Party Gorkom Plenum.

Arutyunyan Talks With Yerevan Residents 30 Apr
NC0205105789 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 1 May 89

[Text] Yesterday [30 April], Suren Arutyunyan first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party's Central Committee, visited several commercial enterprises and newly constructed areas and met and spoke with the residents of the city.

During these discussions, the people of Yerevan openly (?expressed) their views about commercial progress, residential construction, quality improvements, numerous construction developments in some areas, and questions about residential water and gas distribution in the cities. Other problems touched upon were ecology and the construction of hospitals, polyclinics, and preschool buildings.

As a result of these meetings basic responsibilities were assigned to the Armenian Council of Ministers, the Armenian Communist Party's Yerevan city committee and rayon committees, the state agro-industry committee, the Ministry of Commerce, and the Yerevan city executive committee.

Armenian Government Approves Leninakan Master Plan
NC0805120289 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 7 May 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The Armenian Council of Ministers has approved the master plan for Leninakan city up to 1998 which has been prepared by the Yerevan design institute. An extensive ARMENPRES report on the issue is caried on the front page of the paper. The report specifically says that particular attention must be paid to the detailed design in the master plan for the state-protected architectural heritage of Gumayri [old name for Leninakan], based on the city's architectural past. While erecting buildings of socio-cultural significance, attention should also be paid [word indistinct] to feasibility studies and designs relating to private houses for the population of Leninakan.

Moscow Armenians Form New Public Organization
NC0105151689 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow, 17 Apr, Armenpres—An organization called "Vaspurakan" [Armenian name for Lake Van region in Turkey] is a new addition to the following

Armenian public organizations already functioning in Moscow: "Hususapayl" [aurora borealis], "Barev Tsez" [greetings to you], and "Mashdots" [name of the creator of the Armenian alphabet].

Hundreds of Armenian students studying in Moscow, degree candidates, the young Armenians of Moscow, lecturers, scientists and representatives of public organizations took part in "Vaspurakan" organization's constituent meeting.

Ashot Aslanayan, a member of the organization's presidium and a 5th year student at Moscow Physics-Technology Institute, told ARMENPRES that the organization's aim is to unite the Armenian students in Moscow. There are many Armenian students in Moscow, especially in our institute. We are offering Armenian language courses for them, but it would be better if this were an organized effort. We are affiliated with the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic's [SSR] permanent mission in Moscow and are receiving a certain amount of help from it. Because we face many problems, we would also like to receive assistance from the Armenian Ministry of Culture and from Armenian cretive and public organizations.

Azerbaijan Secretary Meets With Sumgait Workers
NC0405120489 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 2 May 89

[Text] Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, has met with the party aktivs and workers in Sumgait. An open exchange of views was held. The city residents said they fully support the revolutionary changes in all domains of communal life and the party policy aimed at effecting reforms in the social and cultural fields. They also strongly upheld the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee's policy to strengthen the moral situation in the republic, maintain the principles of social justice, and resolve the social and economic problems which are directly linked with the main interests of the people. [passage indistinct]

The meeting focused specifically on the living and working conditions of the metallurgical workers. After outlining the measures that have been put into effect in that domain, Vezirov said: This is only the beginning. Strenuous work is required in all directions. It is an impermissible fact that tens of metallurgical families are living in [word indistinct] and cold houses. This state of affairs must be ended and they must be moved to comfortable houses.

Vezirov also visited (?three textile) factories, [word indistinct] rubber products makers union, and the general petroleum [word indistinct] production union and enquired about the living conditions of the workers. He held lengthy talks on the measures taken to improve the ecological situation.

During his talks with the party aktivs of Sumgait, Vezirov recalled the need to mobilized the Communists and all the workers of the city with a view to implementing, without delay, the decision adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers on the measures required for Sumgait city's social development, which is the main and most important task of the city's party organization. He also asserted that each and every (?part) of the said decision took into consideration the interests of all the residents of the city, without exception.

Vezirov also replied to many questions related to the improvement of interethnic relations, the consolidation of the principles of social justice, and the training of young people.

V. Guseynov, member of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and chief of the Organizational Party Work and Cadre Affairs Department, Mutalibov, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan Council of Ministers and chairman of the Azerbaijan State Planning Committee, and Gadzhiyev, first secretary of the Sumgait City Party Committee, accmopanied Vezirov in Sumgait.

Azerbaijan To Resettle Refugees in Altyagach
NC0205112889 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Text] The Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] has adopted a decision regarding the development of the Altyagach (?border) region. The decision related to complex measures aimed at improving the region, fully utilizing its economic resources, renovating abandoned villages, and resettling in this area families which have left their places of permanent residence in the Armenian SSR to settle temporarily in Baku, Sumgait, and [names indistinct] residential areas.

The proposal made by the republic's state committee for the agricultural complex and the Apsheronskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee to increase (?the number of) state farms and collective farms with a view to distributing them among the families who have arrived from the Armenian SSR was approved.

Meanwhile, plans have been made to construct social, cultural, and communal livelihood services buildings, open branches of several industrial establishments, and increase the number of agricultural work sites in the region. Furthermore, problems related to the establishment of the Altyagach bureau and a state fund for resolving matters concerning the well being of the refugees will be discussed in the future.

With a view to stepping up the pace of the effort that will be made to implement the measures required for improving the situation of the backward villages in Altyagach and guaranteeing social and cultural development in that region, the republic's ministries and main

administrations were instructed to see to it that a (?production complex) is established in Apsheronskiy Rayon and assembly, maintenance, and other departments are set up, construction materials sold to the refugees, and credits made available to those who wish to (?establish individual businesses).

Baku Party Economic Aktivs Discuss Reconstruction
NC0205102089 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Text] The party economic aktivs of the republic's capital held a meeting at the Dzerzinskiy Club on 27 April to discuss ways of learning in depth from the experience of reconstruction that has been gained. The need to give a direction to practical work was also discussed. Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, read a report on the outcome of the April 1989 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

It was noted that perfecting the character, forms, and methods of the party's activity, learning to work under the conditions of reconstruction, focusing attention on the need to maintain active links with the masses, uniting the people, and establishing a [word indistinct] between words and deeds must be achieved. Meanwhile, special suggestions were put forward to improve and strengthen (?primary) party organizations.

Comrades [name indistinct] and Mamedov participated in the work of the meeting.

Azerbaijan Party Views Interethnic Law Violations
NC0305105289 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0340 GMT 29 Apr 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The newspapers report on the briefing that was held at AZERINFORM on the question of the violation of laws at the interethnic level. The meeting was attended by representatives of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, the republic's procuracy, the [word indistinct], the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the State Committee for Security.

Afrand Dashdamirov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee State Legal Department, addressed the briefing.

USSR Supreme Court Reverses Estonian Sentences
LD0605190289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 6 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] As has already been reported, a plenum of the USSR Supreme Court decided to completely rehabilitate (Hind), (Jaahiste), (Kiider), and (Ploom), who were groundlessly convicted in December 1983 by the Supreme Court of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic. At the same time, the plenum of the USSR Supreme Court passed a private resolution addressed to the USSR procurator general concerning breaches of legitimacy that were permitted in the course of the investigation and the court hearing of this case. Following numerous requests, the resolution is to be published in full in the newspapers.

Estonian Party Discusses April Plenum Results
PM0905124989 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 28 Apr 89 p 3

[ETA report: "Conference at Estonian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] Members and candidate members of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, first secretaries of city party committees and rayon party committees, and chairmen of city soviet executive committees and rayon soviet executive committees met 27 April at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. They discussed the results of the CPSU Central Committee April (1989) Plenum and the tasks of the republic's party organization in this connection.

The speech by V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, stressed that the results of the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum, in the context of the events that preceded it, and the plenum's confirmation that the party will permit no deviation from the policy of restructuring and the course of democratizing political and social life give grounds for assuming that the decisions adopted by the CPSU Central Committee have a long-term goal and attest to upcoming fundamental new steps in implementing the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

The conference participants confirmed that moving the previously announced 14th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum to 4 May was justified since it provided an opportunity to conduct an in-depth analysis of the situation in the republic and take into consideration new elements in the life of the party brought about by the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum. This also applies to questions of the cadre composition of Estonian Communist Party elective organs.

The conference discussed the main provisions of the report for the forthcoming 14th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum and questions linked with elections to republic and local organs of state power.

During the discussion of questions of ideological work it was noted that party workers rarely appear in the mass media and that political guidance of press organs on the part of party committees locally is imperceptible.

A. Ryuytel, G. Aleshin, M. Titma, E.-A. Sillari, and others spoke at the conference.

The city and rayon executive committee chairmen also discussed along with A. Ryuytel and G. Tynspoyeg a number of economic questions, including the progress of spring field work and preparations for the switch to economic accountability, and questions of the work of local soviet organs.

Valjas Addresses 4 May Plenum

LD0805170589 Tallinn in Estonian to Europe 2030 GMT 4 May 89

["Excerpts" of speech by Vajno Valjas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, to a plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee in Tallinn on 4 May—recorded]

[Text] [Passage indistinct], making the organization of the state more up-to-date and improving the relations between the (?central) authorities and union republics. This was (?briefly) discussed also at the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum. The question of neglect, to put it bluntly, in the improvement of the Soviet multinational federation has also abruptly arisen. I emphasize the question of neglect [passage indistinct]

As a result of the nationality policy during the stagnation period and [words indistinct], the opportunities for development deriving from the diversity of nationalities within Soviet society have largely remained unrealized. The critical situation at this level in several regions demonstrates that the further welfare of the Soviet Union's multinational society depends largely on the extent that its nation-state structure succeeds in ensuring the (?joint harmony) of sovereign republics and the joint harmony of the peoples, the extent of their interest in the activity (?within) and regarding the Soviet Union. Perestroyka in nationality relations means following the Leninist nationality policy, abandoning Stalinist prejudices and stereotypes and those great-power prejudices which were formed during the period of stagnation.

Following the directions set by the 11th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet adopted on 18 January the Estonian SSR law on language. This law relies upon Lenin's position that, and I quote: It is necessary to establish the strictest regulations in the non-Russian republics in our union regarding for the use of national languages and to monitor the observance of these regulations particularly carefully. A detailed code is necessary here which can only be put together with some success by the nationalities who live in the given republic.

The aim of the Estonian SSR law on language is not only to ensure the future of the Estonian language, but to provide Estonians with the opportunity to conduct all affairs in their homeland in their mother tongue. It is clear that a law on language of this kind will make the situation healthier, restore the path for development of [words indistinct] as well as of the mother tongue, even if it is certainly not easy to comply totally with the law and even if this process is not without conflict.

The basis for harmonious nationality relations can only be the recognition of the peoples' inalienable right to self-determination and an opportunity for that to be realized. It also presupposes the indivisibility of the territory of the indigenous population. It is natural that within a truly federal union of states one needs to resolutely relinquish the principle which has been followed here up to now that the union organs can resolve all questions which seem to them to be (?of sufficient importance).

The further development of the union republics of the USSR must take place in conditions of sovereignty. This is our irrefutable position. The sovereignty of a union republic means that the republic has the highest authority in its territory concerning the top bodies of authority and administration and its judicial bodies.

Up to now it has not been precisely defined which issues are within the sole competence of the Supreme Soviet, rayon, and town soviets, and those handled first and foremost by the union republic. For this reason measures prohibiting arbitrary interference on the part of central departments turned out to be necessary in order too secure the sovereignty of the republic. This can only be considered a legitimate step in ensuring the republic's constitutional rights against attempts to move toward a unitarian state.

The juridical foundation of the USSR, being a union of states, could be a union contract which would determine those questions which will remain within the competence of the Soviet Union and those the solution of which falls solely within the competence of the republic, with the list of the issues transferred to the union's competence simultaneously being (?final). At the same time, concluding the union contract is also a political act which will allow one to abandon the legacy of the Stalinist foreign policy. It will create a realistic basis for mutual trust among all peoples of the Soviet Union and interests in the (?given) cooperation.

The Molotov-Ribbentrop pact should also be declared invalid. We will soon have to see the 50th anniversary of its conclusion. During restructuring the events of the thirties and forties have acquired a special resonance and they also have to be assessed clearly and with firm principles at the top union level. As a member of the CPSU commission for foreign policy I have presented our proposals and I can affirm that at the moment those issues are under review and (?are being resolved).

Thus we all have witnessed how the original pluralism of views and differences in stances have also grown into a diversity of organized activity. The scope of activity of democratic movements has vastly expanded. The soviets

have begun to register people's movements, thus recognizing them as partners for cooperation in conducting the affairs of the republic. Movements enjoy extensive opportunities to work for enlightenment, the mass media [words indistinct] are open to them. Of course, this concerns only those movements that operate within the framework of the constitution and the existing legislation.

However, the extremist groups have an interest in dividing society along nationality lines. Extremist tendencies have manifested themselves on the one hand through the so-called Estonian National Independence Party, with whom some other movements' members—first and foremost those of the Estonian Society for the Preservation of the National Heritage—have started to cooperate. But, largely thanks to the position of the People's Front, the extreme nature of these movements has up to now, and I emphasize the words up to now, not succeeded in substantially destabilizing the political situation. However, a danger of this kind is fairly perceptible and calls for a clear political assessment.

In the speeches of the Intermovement representatives, slogans and wishes against the Estonian restructuring policy have come to dominate more and more, with slogans directing political activity into extreme forms including setting up a republican strike committee. This is not acceptable. We do not agree to this. Also, groups which should unite people according to their hobbies and inclinations have also become political, such as the Soviet for the Preservation of the National Heritage, the United Council of Work Collectives, the [words indistinct] of Union of Work Collectives, and the Estonian Green Movement. Excuse me for not listing all the organizations here.

Here, too, politicized aims in some places and differences in the interests of non-Estonians are manifest and are influencing both groups toward a confrontation. One section promises to resolve all the problems facing society with one blow by establishing order, while the others attempt to convince us that the miracle which will rid Estonia of all its troubles is immediate and complete secession from the Soviet Union. More and more vehement expressions and declarations are appearing. Extremes amplify (?each other).

A political situation of this kind is not (?tolerable). With the setting up of citizens' committees the so-called ERSP [Estonian National Independence Party] and recently also a section of the Soviet for the Preservation of the National Heritage leadership have set out on a nonconstructive path. They oppose the movement of restructuring and with their slogans they [passage indistinct]. It is clear that (?one could) create an alternative structure for power only within the framework of what is allowed in the existing laws.

It is natural that conflicts within society are also reflected in politics. [words indistinct] policy calls for compromises between the political forces. It would be pointless to expect that mutual understanding will come of its own accord. Real politics requires relinquishing of [words indistinct] exchanges and unrealistic endeavors which may lead society to a split and to consequences which one cannot guess.

It is of particular importance here to take into account Estonia's special character. Action (?involving) some forces which lie outside Estonia [passage indistinct]. People do not want a broken home filled with hatred, brute force and dark instincts. Our goal is an Estonia which is humane and civilized, ensured by economic and political development, and open to the outside world. [passage indistinct] General political slogans, the IME [self-managing Estonia], sovereignty, consolidation, nationality policy, reform of the political system, and citizenship will have to be translated into specific action at the levels of rayons, towns, and work collectives. [passage indistinct] also the all-union quest to regulate relations between the center and the union republics, in favor of paying more attention to crucial questions which still must be resolved. The most essential of those are definitely the problems of the union contract and the priority of the republican legislation [passage indistinct].

We see one opportunity for securing republican sovereignty in the recently-elected USSR people's deputies. With the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum on the nationality question in mind, it is necessary for the USSR people's deputies elected from Estonia to actively introduce the positions of the republic at the congress of people's deputies at its first session. A package of legislative initiatives will have to be worked out, both for the present and for the future, which will ensure [words indistinct]. As far as the multiparty system is concerned, however, it should be said immediately that the present extent of democracy allows for fairly extensive political pluralism in the country of socialist democracy. Public movements here participate actively in the political life, thus ensuring that all the main social forces are represented in politics. [passage indistinct] in the development of the economic life. At the republic level this means first and foremost a change from administrative-command relations to economic relations.

The results of the past years demonstrate that the republic's economic problems [words indistinct] cannot be resolved through partial reforms, while preserving economically splintered subordination without substantially understanding the economic mechanism. The latter is what IME wants. Those who see separatism in the IME will have to put forth a clear alternative. The present progress of the radical economic reform has demonstrated convincingly that the reshaping of our economic life uniformly and encompassing all regions with identical methods bears little fruit. At the level of USSR Council of Ministers it has been understood that

one needs to approach regional self-management conceptually, to transfer union republics and economic areas gradually, according to their readiness, to new [words indistinct].

Our IME draft is radical. We think that our people are ready to accept all the difficulties which will ensue from changing to new management conditions in the name of raising their standard of living. Half-baked steps here are not helpful. What I would particularly like to emphasize today is, first, that the IME program is perhaps, figuratively speaking, like the city of Tallinn, in that one can never say that it is finally complete. For this reason, one cannot demand that it contain a final and unambiguous answer to all the questions [passage indistinct]. The solutions to many problems will only become clear in the process of changing over to the IME. The concept contains several positions which are a big step forward for improving the economic mechanism, yet they need further theoretical processing and [words indistinct].

Second, relying upon the new economic mechanism presented within the IME concept, one needs to work out the main directions for the development of the republican national economy for years to come. [passage indistinct] which are the most important republican branches of the national economy and the prospects of advancing them; to which extent we can direct funds to the social sphere and to develop the material production sphere, while on one hand ensuring the growing welfare of the population and the extensive reproduction of the economy on the other hand. It is clear that without developing production and making it profitable it is impossible to get funds for the social sphere and to protect the environment. The republic government should work out the directions for the development of the national economy during this year, before the republic switches to self-management.

Third, up to now the drafting of the IME program has taken place mainly on the republican (?plane). After the conceptual foundations of the new economic mechanism are approved, the focal point of the work should be transferred to branches of the national economy, to towns and rayons. The IME concept will provide a certain foundation to the organization of economic activity and opportunities, but the realities have to be dealt with by the work collectives. The republican governments will have to work out precise foundations for starting which will define the activities of enterprises, organizations, and economic [words indistinct] under the new management conditions.

Vaino Withdraws From Central Committee

LD1005100289 Tallinn in Estonian to Europe 2030 GMT 5 May 89

[Excerpts] Yesterday the 14th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum took place in Tallinn. [passage omitted]

The plenum discussed organizational questions. A group of members and candidate members of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee submitted an application to withdraw from Communist Party of Estonia elected bodies because they have stayed away from active party work or left (?the republic). The plenum acceded to their request. Among the withdrawn Central Committee members is Karl Vaino, former republican party (?leader). [words indistinct] candidate members of the Central Committee were promoted to Central Committee members.

Estonian Presidium Explains Republic 'Sovereignty'

LD0905113689 Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian 23 Apr 89 p 2

["Public Address of the Tallinn Cooperation Team to the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] Proceeding from the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] law on making amendments and addenda to the Estonian SSR Constitution (of 16 November 1988), and with reference in particular to Article 5, the Tallinn Cooperation Team considers the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree "On making amendments and addenda to the USSR law on criminal responsibility for state crimes and to other USSR legislative acts" (of 8 April 1989) invalid on the territory of the Estonian SSR. The Tallinn Cooperation Team wants to know the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's position on this question. In case the Supreme Soviet Presidium also considers this decree to be invalid, the Tallinn Cooperation Team would like to know what are the guarantees that this decree will not be implemented in the Estonian SSR. In case the Supreme Soviet Presidium considers the decree to be valid, the Tallinn Cooperation Team would like to know how that view is in agreement with the spirit and letter of the 16 November resolutions.

Looking forard to a public reply,

[Signed] The Themis Democratic Association, the Tallinn branch of the Estonian Christian Union, the Tallinn Association of the Estonian Society for the Preservation of National Heritage, the Tallinn initiative group of the Estonian Women's Union, the Tallinn branch of the Estonian National Independence Party, the People's Front of Lenini rayon, the People's Front of northwest Tallinn, the People's Front of Mere rayon, the People's Front of Oktoobri rayon, the Independent Information Center, the Tallinn Doctors Union, the Tallinn Green Movement, and the Tallinn Independent Squad.

Tallinn, 17 April 1989

The question raised in the letter is answered by Eenok Kornel, deputy head of the Juridical Department of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The first thing which we should be aware of is that the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet 16 November 1988 resolutions are valid. Therefore, there is no need to occasionally cast doubt on them. The highest republican authority has not gone back on the declaration of sovereignty which has become known the world over. That, indeed, would be unthinkable, because it is a case of expressing the will of the state, which was demanded and supported by the people, the holders of sovereignty, by now, we should also be above teaching Moscow how to resolve juridical dead ends.

Second, for many people in Estonia it is a great concern whether the Estonian SSR will make an announcement on whether or not it recognizes the validity of each all-union normative act. Declaring Estonian sovereignty was the first such step in the history of Soviet Estonian statehood, on the basis of which we have essentially begun to review the relationship of competence between the center and the republic. However, we need not think that the union's jurisdiction over our republic ceased from that moment, nor should we think that there would not be legal consequences if we refuse to recognize an all-union normative act passed to be valid in all republics. This would be a naive understanding removed from reality.

We can proceed, but from a stance of political reality. At the moment we belong in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the same foundations as the other Soviet republics. Nothing has yet changed in our status. Estonia does not have a special position in comparison with other union republics. Our constitution stems from and coincides with the USSR Constitution. But as a result of the November constitutional amendments, we have begun to defend our sovereign rights within the framework of the existing constitution, and we have begun to ask for the return of relinquished rights. All of this cannot happen in a minute or in a specific period of time.

The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium carefully monitors the central authorities' undertakings, and there is a reaction to those if they infringe upon our interests or restrict our rights. That was the case, for example, with the establishment of the road tax, with expressing opinions for a military reform, with defining the competence of the center and the republics, and in other cases. To what extent our reaction has been taken into account is a different matter. The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium went over the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium 8 April 1989 decree "On making amendments and addenda to the USSR law on criminal responsibility for state crimes and to other legislative acts" with a fine-tooth comb. The more so, as the new version of the foundations of the criminal legislation is currently under public discussion, and ahead of us lies the working out of a new Estonian SSR criminal law. Understandably, the fact that an opinion about the draft could not be expressed is of some importance.

The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 18 April discussed the requirement ensuing from the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium 8 April decree on bringing the republics' criminal legislation in line with the new amendments. (According to the previous principles, legislation on crimes against the state—so-called state crimes—lie within the USSR's competence, and Moscow has made amendments to all-union laws valid hitherto.) It was found that the aim of this legislative act differs from the understandings which have developed within the republic. It is also not justifiable for criminal punishment to be applied according to a decree whose content can be interpreted practically arbitrarily. It is a question in its own right what is then altogether to be considered a crime, i.e. the gravest infringement of the law?

Although the 8 April decree is already in force all over the union, our Supreme Soviet Presidium considered it right to present Moscow with justified proposals to alter the decree, especially since the act in question has not yet been adopted as law by a session of the SSR Supreme Soviet. The joint opinion was that prior to this, our republic will not amend our corresponding legislation.

Deputies from Estonia elected to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, in the capacity of fully fledged representatives of the USSR organ of power, could contest the mentioned decree, so that it could be discussed at the session. Our jurists, particularly experts in criminal law, could offer their opinions and proposals pertaining to the content, which the people's deputies would then present in Moscow. This is an important and necessary step, because the further criminal legislation of the Estonian SSR itself will depend on those proposals.

So, we are expecting proposals at this address: 200100 Tallinn, Weizenbergi 39, the Juridical Department of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Estonian People's Front Letters Published

Punishment for 9 Apr Events Urged

LD1005091889 Tallin NOORTE HAAL in Estonian 22 Apr 89 p 1

[Estonian People's Front letter: "To the People of Georgia, to the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Procurator General"]

[Excerpts] The Estonian People's Front bow their heads in deep mourning for the memory of the daughters and sons of Georgia who perished on 9 April. [passage omitted]

The events of 9 April in Tbilisi remind us that the Soviet Union is still very far from being a law-governed state and that there are forces within the Soviet Union who are not afraid to take any kind of steps to preserve the regime which is based upon force. In this situation, the

only trustworthy guarantee for the democratization to continue is the unity of all democratic forces in Georgia and Estonia and in the entire Soviet Union.

The Estonian People's Front holds the position that the persons who issued the command for the use of force against children, women, and other unarmed people, as well as the soldiers who behaved particularly brutally, must be found and judged publicly.

[Signed] Estonian People's Front
[Dated] 18 April 1989

USSR Presidium Decree Challenged

LD1005072589 Tallinn NOORTE HAAL in Estonian 22 Apr 89 p 1

[Estonian People's Front letter: "To the Estonian SSR Public at Large, to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] On 8 April the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree "On making amendments and addenda to the USSR law on criminal responsibility for state crimes and to some other USSR legislative acts" has been established, by passing the 30 June 1987 USSR law which envisages a public discussion of laws concerning citizens' constitutional rights, freedoms, and duties. The 8 April decree has been adopted without a public discussion.

Every law can come into force only once the deputies elected by the people have collegially discussed the law and collegially adopted it.

We consider it necessary, with respect to the 8 April USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree, to apply the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet resolution on alterations in Article 74 of the Estonian SSR Constitution and to halt the effect of the 8 April decree on the territory of the Estonian SSR, as this decree is undemocratic, against the principles of a law-governed state, and restricts the constitutional rights of the Estonian SSR citizens. [passage omitted]

[Signed] Estonian People's Front
[Dated] 18 April 1989

Journalists Union Established in Estonia

LD0605131489 Moscow TASS in English 1306 GMT 6 May 89

[Text] Tallinn May 6 TASS—A congress of journalists, which came to a close in the capital of the Soviet Baltic Republic of Estonia today, decided to set up a republican union of journalists.

The charter of the organisation envisages transition to contract-based relations with the journalistic unions of other republics and the USSR Union of Journalists and cooperation with journalistic organisations in other countries.

In keeping with the charter, membership in the Estonian Union is compatible with membership in the USSR Union of Journalists.

Latvian Presidium Examines Draft Laws, Elections

PM0305114589 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 22 Apr 89 p 3

[LATINFORM report: "Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium Session"]

[Text] A session of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium has been held. It was chaired by A.V. Gorbunov, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The Presidium approved a proposal for the order of proceedings for the 11th session of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation, and resolved that a proposal for the inclusion of the following items on the agenda of the upcoming session be submitted to the chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet:

Measures to radically improve the republic population's Latvian language studies;

The Latvian SSR draft law "On Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Latvian SSR," and the Latvian SSR draft law "On Languages";

The Latvian SSR draft law "On Peasant Farms in the Latvian SSR";

A Latvian SSR Council of Ministers report at the request of deputy A.Ya. Goris on preparations, currently under way, for the reconstruction of the State Academy National Opera Theater of the Latvian SSR and provisions for the creative work of the theater's ensemble during the period of reconstruction;

The ratification of Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees; and

Changes in the composition of certain Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet standing commissions.

The Presidium approved the Latvian SSR draft law "On Peasant Farms in the Latvian SSR" submitted by the republic Council of Ministers, and also a Latvian Supreme Soviet draft resolution "On the Procedure for the Application of the Latvian SSR Law 'On Peasant Farms in the Latvian SSR'" and resolved that they should be submitted for examination by the upcoming session with due attention to the observations and clarifications that have been made.

The Presidium examined the progress of preparations for repeat elections of USSR people's deputies in the No 709 Daugavpilsskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug. In this okrug 155 labor collectives have registered 6 candidates. It was noted that the work of the okrug and polling place electoral commissions is organized on the basis of public opinion polls, bearing in mind the the results of the analysis of the shortcomings which were allowed to occur during the last elections. At the same time, during the nomination of candidates in a number of cases the necessary explanatory work in organizing meetings in labor collectives was not carried out. There were instances of the violation of the rates of representation, certain conferences were attended by no more than 10 percent of workers, and not a single voters' meeting was held at places of residence.

The Presidium has instructed soviets and soviet executive committees on whose territory repeat elections are being held to ensure, in cooperation with okrug electoral commissions, that canvassing is carried out on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual respect between candidates and their agents, that statements of a humiliating or insulting nature about candidate deputies are excluded from the election materials, and also that no canvassing takes place on the day of the elections. The attention of the Latvian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and republic newspaper editorial offices has been drawn to the need to ensure equal access to the mass media for candidate deputies and objective coverage of their election programs in both the Latvian and Russian languages.

The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium quashed the decision of the Limbazhskiy and Rizhskiy rayon soviets halting the allocation of plots of land to Riga enterprises and organizations for the purpose of establishing horticultural associations on the territory of these rayons.

The petition of the aforementioned soviets that Latvian SSR Council of Ministers resolutions on the allocation of plots of land for the creation of horticultural associations to the "VEF-Daynas," "Politekhnik," "Blazma," "Dunte," "Brigantina," "Lidums," and "Kalngale" enterprises be repealed was rejected. The Presidium drew the attention of all local soviets to the fact that they must act on the basis of socialist legality and that in adopting decisions on the settlement of land allocation issues they must strictly abide by Latvian SSR laws, Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees and resolutions, and Latvian SSR Council of Ministers resolutions and instructions. It was proposed that in the future mutual relations between local soviets and Riga enterprises and organizations regarding the allocation of plots of land be regulated on the basis of contracts.

Other issues were also discussed at the session of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Latvian Bureau Criticizes Interfront Strike Calls

PM0905111189 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 27 Apr 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] On 26 April 1989 there was a session of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau which examined the question "On politically damaging appeals that destabilize the situation in the republic." It was noted that over recent months, at a number of rallies organized by the International Frontof Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Working People, appeals demanding a halt to the discussion of the draft Law on Languages have been made and have received support and ultimatums that have been put forward to the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the republic's government which even included threats of strikes at industrial enterprises in the republic.

For that reason there were meetings with International Front leaders both at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and at the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. During the conversations there was confirmation of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau's consistent political line of fulfilling the decisions of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee January (1989) Plenum relating to language policy. Party and soviet organs in the republic have taken other practical measures to improve interethnic relations in Latvia.

However, on 21 April 1989, during an authorized International Front rally, the well known demands to halt the examination and adoption of the Latvian SSR Law on Languages were made in a categorical form and there were calls for warning strikes at a number of Riga enterprises on 28 April.

It was stressed at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau that such actions have an adverse effect on people's mood, disrupt production, and aggravate interethnic enmity in labor collectives and among the population in the republic.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau condemned the strike calls made on Komsomol Embankment in Riga 21 April and described them as a means of political pressure that is damaging the cause of restructuring, the implementation of economic and political reform, and the unity of all healthy social forces of the republic's multinational population.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau instructed party city and rayon committees and party committees to demand that Communists supporting the International Front of Latvian SSR Working People resolutely refuse to participate in such forms of

political struggle as strikes, which are unacceptable ways of solving any real socipopolitical, economic, and interethnic problems and contradictions.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau warned Communists who are leaders of the International Front and its structural components about their personal responsibility for the possible consequences in the republic's political and economic life in the event of strikes.

Communists who are leaders of soviet, state and economic organs were instructed to promptly examine working people's proposals and demands, to react to them swiftly, and give the requisite explanations of the points raised. On the basis of the principle of glasnost, extensive use should be made here of the mass news and propaganda media and personal meetings at labor collectives.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau appeals to all Communists and working people in the republic not to give in to incitements to strike or other provocative actions and to rebuff the claims of those groups of people who are seeking to push the republic's working people onto the path of destabilizing the situation and kindling ethnic enmity. Every sober-minded person and patriot of his homeland who wants to see it flourish must be clearly aware that the future of restructuring today depends on creative and productive labor by every Soviet person, whereas strikes disrupt production and cause moral, political, and material damage to working people's interests and to the cause of restructuring.

Latvian Ministers Replace Press Censorship Chief

PM0305141189 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 22 Apr 89 p 3

[LATINFORM report: "Chronicle"]

[Text] The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers has appointed Comrade Inart Yulyevich Skuin as chief of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for the Protection of State Secrets in the Press.

The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers relieved Comrade Ernst Karlovich Upmal of his duties as chief of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for the Protection of State Secrets in the Press in connection with his retirement.

Latvian Farmers Union Seeks 'Radical' Changes

PM0305141789 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 21 Apr 89 p 3

[Undated request by the constituent congress of the Latvian Farmers' Union: "Appeal to the Inhabitants of Latvia"]

[Text] Latvian agriculture is in a state of deep crisis. The social and production infrastructure of the countryside has been deformed. Peasants are divorced from the land and subject to the arbitrary rule of the administrative-command system. Incorrect production relations prevail in the countryside. Arable land has decreased by 1.2 million hectares during the postwar years. The volume of industrial production has been increased inproportionately, increasing 57-fold compared with a 40-percent increase in the volume of agricultural production. Migration processes are threatening the existence of the Latvian people. The provision of Latvia's population with food products has reached crisis point. Empty stores and endless lines are causing justified dissatisfaction among the republic's inhabitants.

The Latvian Farmers' Union [SSL] favors the revolutionary restructuring of the republic's national economy and sociopolitical system. However, this turn of events is possible only if comprehensive radical changes are carried out in the agrarian sector. Agriculture must take its proper place in the Latvian economy.

The SSL will do everything in its power to develop rural working people's initiative and raise their material interest in the results of their work. However, it is impossible to overcome the food crisis merely through the expansion and intensification of production. Therefore the SSL categorically opposes the lawlessness and the shocking situation in the sphere of storing and processing agricultural produce, and advocates social justice in the distribution of agricultural produce in an effort to ensure that the republic population's requirement for food is fully met.

The SSL does not encroach on the interests of other social strata or groups. It cooperates with the Latvian People's Front and other progressive organizations, favors the creation of a rule-of-law state, guaranteed sovereignty for the republic, and the free development of various forms of ownership and management. The SSL rejects the fostering of distrust among working people, all types of violence, inequality, leveling, irresponsibility, and monopolization of power.

The SSL advocates ending migration and giving the Latvian language state language status. The SSL program is an integral part of the program of restructuring. Concern for agriculture is simultaneously a concern for every citizen of Latvia.

The SSL is at one with its land and its people. Unity for our Latvia!

Lithuania's Brazauskas Holds News Conference

LD0905093889 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 5 May 89

[Excerpts] The efforts of the Lithuanian leadership to introduce more economic self-dependence in Lithuania had not been crowned by victory as the centralized bodies in Moscow—and first of all the Council of Ministers of the USSR—cannot understand the political importance of Lithuania's economic autonomy.

Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, has declared this at a press conference in Vilnius. He stressed that the oncoming parliamentary session is going to approve the law on Lithuania's economic autonomy. The main reason for the adoption of this law is the failure of the current documents to produce a desired effect.

Algirdas Brazauskas had stressed that economic autonomy is the only road leading to the economic breakthrough, as Lithuania's economic activities should be governed by objective laws. According to Algirdas Brazauskas, Lithuanian leaders want to account to the nation but they are not independent. The party leader also stressed that Lithuania was encountering many obstacles on its road to the better future. Lithuania's efforts to develop a new constitution and the concept of a national schoool did not receive wide support. These moves cannot boast of many allies either. Speaking about the current constitutional draft, Algirdas Brazauskas stressed that the coming constitution could be very progressive for Lithuania, indeed, because this republic needs such a constitution in the current political situation.

The press conference was held on the occasion of the Day of the Press, which is observed across the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

Algirdas Brazauskas was also asked to deny or confirm the rumors on his alleged invitation to go to Moscow and occupy the post of the chairman of newly elected Soviet of Nationalities at the Soviet Parliament. He told the journalists that he was already a deputy of the Union Soviet [as heard], which is one of the houses of the Soviet Parliament. He also said that he had never received an invitation to work in Moscow.

In response to the question whether the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party will be renewed, Algirdas Brazauskas said that the query was logical. He expressed a hope that a number of people would leave their post at the Central Committee before the oncoming party plenum, which is going, by the way, to discuss agricultural matters. [passage omitted]

Domas Sniukas, chairman of the Lithuanian Journalists Union, remarked that the 85th anniversary of the freedom of Lithuanian press will be observed soon. The Lithuanian press was banned by the Czarist government in 1864, and in 1904 Lithuanians regained the right to read and write in Lithuanian freely. In future, said Domas Sniukas, the press holiday will be held to coincide with this historical event in Lithuania and not with the first edition of the PRAVDA newspaper as was the case in the past.

Lithuanian Party Klaypeda Gorkom Holds Plenum
PM0205091589 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 12 Apr 89 p 1

[ELTA report: "Plenum of Lithuanian Communist Party City Committee"]

[Text] Klaypeda, 11 Apr—A plenum of the Lithuanian Communist Party City Committee [Gorkom] was held here today. It discussed an organizational question.

In view of his transfer to work in the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee as chief of the Organizational Party and Cadre Work Department, V. Baublis was relieved of his duties as party gorkom first secretary.

By secret ballot, the plenum unanimously elected V. Greychyunas first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Gorkom.

The plenum was addressed by S. Shileris, chairman of the "Baltiya" Fishery Enterprise; A. Likhtinshaynas, chief of the auctions administration; M. Manchinskiy, secretary of the party committee at the Lithuanian Fish Industry Production Association; G. Kruk, director of the "Baltiya" Shipbuilding Plant; A. Nariyauskas, secretary of the party committee at the "Klaypeda" Planning and Construction Association; and others.

A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the plenum and answered questions from its participants.

Commenting on the results of the elections of USSR people's deputies, A. Brazauskas noted that many trustworthy party leaders were not elected. "Sayudis" representatives or candidates supported by "Sayudis" were preferred by the voters. Incidentally, the overwhelming proportion of them are Communists or people who support party policy. However, it is worth pondering today why certain leaders were defeated in the election struggle. This means that the party must rethink its tactics and strategy in order to regain people's trust.

Speaking of Lithuania's economic independence, A. Brazauskas agreed with the opinion that had been expressed that the draft as published in the press does not accord with the aspirations of the republic's residents. It is necessary to fundamentally change the principles and methods of management, to make more resolute use of advanced economic levers, and not to be afraid to use the advanced experience of foreign states and world experience, as V.I. Lenin taught.

We have submitted our concept of economic independence to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and prepared a draft USSR Council of Ministers resolution. It has essentially been approved. The All-Union Gosplan and other departments are now analyzing our proposals. However, it should be remembered that it will not be easy to be the first in the country to start working

according to the principle of independence as from 1990, as we are linked by close contacts with the country's departments and with other republics. We will persistently struggle for real opportunities to independently solve all the problems in the republic's life.

Without waiting for instructions from the center, we have used the republican budget and other sources to legally establish many benefits for women raising children. A government act is now in preparation to legally establish material aid to families that have taken on the responsibility of raising orphans. We intend to seek out methods of transferring funds intended for creches to mothers raising children aged under 3 years. Asked about the prospects of relaying the "Atgimimo Banga" ("Wave of Rebirth") program on television, A. Brazauskas replied that the participants in this program sometimes distorted facts and commented tendentiously or subjectively on certain events and situations. This prompted a negative reaction from some of society.

Incidentally, not only "Sayudis" but also other social movements today want to take advantage of the huge television audience. Why not allow them to do so? If there's to be pluralism of opinions, then let there be pluralism! The only important point is to ensure that the participants in programs display tolerance and tact toward each other and do not depart from the principles of truth.

Today A. Brazauskas met with lecturers from the port's higher educational institutions in the city Teachers' Center.

Lithuanian Deputy on USSR Republic Autonomy Draft
PM0905153989 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 26 Apr 89 p 2

[Interview with Doctor of Economic Sciences Kazimira Prunskene, USSR people's deputy, by unidentified correspondent: "Right in Fetters: Republican Economic Accountability—How To Make It a Reality; SOVETSKAYA LITVA Correspondent Converses With USSR People's Deputy Doctor of Economic Sciences Kazimira Prunskene on Questions of the Republic's Economic Autonomy"—date and place not given]

[Text] Correspondent: In your view, to what extent do the CPSU Central Committee March plenum decisions on the fundamental restructuring of agrarian policy and the draft "General Principles for Restructuring the Leadership of the Economic and Social Spheres in Union Republics on the Basis of Expansion of Their Sovereign Rights, Self-Management, and Self-Financing" correspond with the concept studies on sovereignty and economic autonomy?

K. Prunskene: I believe that these documents, especially the second, can be described as "slight changes" because we take "fundamental restructuring" to mean precisely what we used as the basis of the concept of the republic's economic autonomy. And since the question concerns the sovereignty of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], let me dwell in more detail on the draft "genera! principles..." Let me say frankly that the draft contains so many empty phrases which we have been hearing for decades that it is quite difficult to find a grain of rationality in them. If we compare the draft with our own concepts and proposals put forward at the conference of Baltic republics held in Riga in September 1988 (they took up less than three typed pages and expressed the meaning of economic autonomy), we will appreciate the difference between decisions made in the center and in the republics. It would not be hard to explain why this happens. True, the explanations would differ according to who was explaining and where.

The all-union draft sets out a quest for methods to reconcile centralized management with enhanced autonomy for republics, and the latter is pushed into the background. Is it possible to have a normal perception of autonomy if the word "motherland" will continue to mean the entire union, and national economy will mean only the economy of the entire union (see Article 2 of the draft: "...solving both national economic and regional problems...")? I do not think so.

The further strengthening and expansion of state ownership as the wealth of the whole people are proclaimed to be a reliable economic foundation for harmonizing the interests of the USSR and those of its republics, regions, and ethnic and social groups. How is it to be further strengthened when we have been doing nothing but strengthening it for so many years? (I mean the transformation of ownership into state ownership)! And on a foundation which is not and cannot be reliable since it lacks the most important "cement"—a master interested in augmenting this wealth. As a rule, wealth belonging to everybody belongs to nobody. Nobody is in any hurry to augment it, and it benefits those who are close to it. As we see it (and this is enshrined in the draft Lithuanian SSR Constitution, Article 11), the subject of state ownership means the people of the republic who autonomously manage, distribute, and enjoy their wealth.

The combination of expansion of republics' economic autonomy with the enhancement of their responsibility smacks of old thinking. In my view, the term "enhancement of responsibility" here means responsibility of republics to the center. Had this been a matter of responsibility to our own people, there would have been no question of such a combination and we would have been talking about a different "subject of responsibility," in other words the organs of republican power. The center still does not feel it is necessary to raise the question of bilateral responsibility, addressing it also to itself.

Is it still necessary today to prove the elementary truth of the authorities' responsibility to their own people? For as long as the republics (and in any case obviously their management apparatus) remain responsible to Moscow

and the policy of structural restructuring and the social reorientation of the integrated economy is formulated there, it will be hard to expect any such reorientation. And unless the economy is oriented in the direction of social restructuring in individual republics and other socio-territorial communities, unless their economies are given a structure corresponding with local conditions, we will not solve this gigantic task on an all-union scale. It can be solved only by managing the process not from the summits of a "strong center" but from the place where there are people interested in this solution, participating in it, and implementing it.

So what are the fundamental differences between the economic autonomy concept prepared by Lithuania's scientists or the principles approved at the Riga conference, and the union draft?

First, the center, by not recognizing the right of republican state ownership, reserves for itself the management of the main heavy industry sectors. Consequently, the republics' economy is not integrated and the opportunities for its comprehensive development in the future still remain limited. The opportunity to create enterprises and associations with extradepartmental status, as envisaged in the draft, could ease this problem. It is, however, necessary to provide guarantees for enterprises which will no longer be subordinate to union ministries and to supply them with material resources. As yet, in the conditions of centralized distribution of resources, such guarantees can be provided only by republic management organs and not by each individual enterprise.

The importance of partial centralization of economic management (which people are trying in vain to measure in percentages) is diminished by the centralization of budget, finance and credit, price formation, the monetary system, wages, and social and other measures. The draft claims that republics will become proper masters of their own budgets. But the regulation of budgets and their revenue sources remain largely centralized. When contributors to republican budgets are managed by central organs and they set a multiplicity of economic normatives, this already makes the republic budget dependent on something other than the result of economic management in the republic itself.

As a result of political prejudices and the dogmatic perception of an "integrated national economic complex," the union budget is shaped by an artificially complicated method, as distinct from the principle of "republics' budget—union budget" proposed by us. The fact that all enterprises, including republican and local economy enterprises, will pay differentiated taxes to the union budget according to their subordination pointlessly complicates the financial system at every level. This is an obvious desire to use financial means to implement throughout the union uniform state ownership, whose meaning has already been debated.

Fresh confusion is introduced by the procedure for distributing the turnover tax and foreign currency revenues between producers of raw materials and finished products. It is not hard to find a new method to interlink the economies of different republics, but these ties will still be governed by the center, as if to prove its need to influence the republics' prosperity and their financial management.

The desire to provide centralized solutions to the levying of taxes on the population's incomes is still maintained at the union level, and this, in our opinion, is also incorrect.

A positive aspect of the draft is the fact that republics' budgets will be used to provide subsidies on foodstuffs consumed within the republic (subsidies on produce shipped out will be covered by the consumer republics).

Republics can acquire greater autonomy in the utilization of their budget funds only if there is an activation of the processes increasing budget revenues whereby these processes are released from the grip of centralism and this is actually where we encounter the intersection of two mutually exclusive ideas: to sustain the center's functions in republican management and, at the very same time, to activate economic processes in the republics and enhance their results. All this brings to mind the contradiction between articles in the Law on the Enterprise, where enterprises are granted more rights in the utilization of economically accountable revenues without the opportunity to autonomously manage the processes generating these revenues, in other words to choose what should be manufactured and in what quantities, what should be purchased from whom and at what prices. We are already in a position to see the results of this "autonomy."

Centralized money hand outs not subject to republics' monitoring is a cause of major concern. The activity of central organs, given their absolute autonomy and their traditions, which inspire no confidence, does not guarantee that republics will be able to utilize their economic results to boost their people's prosperity. In other words, the problem of autonomous money remains one of the most topical ones.

The draft raises the partial decentralization of the banking system only as a question in need of solution, yet its expediency is obvious.

The fourth section of the draft, headed "Improvement of the Management of Economic and Social Development in Union Republics," does not promise any substantial changes at all. The center will determine the republics' contribution to the common national economic complex by setting "initial planning data" for republics. Republics' plans will be compiled on the basis of the USSR's economic and social development and in directions elaborated by central economic organs. What sort of democratization of planning or planning from below can

we talk about? It seems that the economy's social orientation will continue to be implemented through the use of scientifically substantiated norms and normatives to regulate the needs for consumer goods and the supply of such goods. If these norms remain the prerogative of the center using the "universal leveling" method, there is nothing positive to be expected from this.

The center takes the stance that planning from above, assisted by control figures, output growth (in net output terms), growth of the population's real incomes, and reduced materials-intensiveness, could activate these processes and that this should actually be the concern of the center rather than of enterprises themselves or of territorial-social communities and the republics.

State orders still hang menacingly above republican enterprise collectives, and the right to distribute the most important material resources remains within the power of union organs. The dual subordination of material and technical supply organs also remains, and in practical terms this means centralization of this sphere's management.

Thus the opportunity for direct horizontal commodity-money relations between enterprises and republics is fettered by the chains of state orders and centralized distribution of resources, with the center itself regulating the degree of pressure. It is curious that, while leaving the republics' rights fettered, it is planned to create a system of organizational-legal measures to expand competition and rivalry between output suppliers. This is tantamount to asking a troupe of dancers to perform a lively jig without taking the chains off their feet.

The listed expansion of certain rights demonstrates even more graphically the existing absolutism of centralism. The fact that there is talk of permitting a republic itself or its enterprises to set additional and supplementary salary payments (but not salaries themselves) or additions and supplements to allowances and benefits (but not the size of pensions) testifies to the extent to which republics' sovereign rights are expanded.

Quite a few rights are granted in the sphere of economic ties with foreign countries. The only point is: Will it be advantageous to exercise these rights? The answer would be made clear by concretizing the normatives concerning centralized foreign currency revenues. The draft keeps almost silent on this point.

The greatest practical benefit could be produced by the republics' envisaged right to promulgate normative acts supplementing and amplifying articles in relevant laws (had it not been for the menacing proviso: "Not running contrary to USSR laws"), as well as by the opportunity to experiment with new elements of the territorial management system in some republics starting in 1990. This article in the draft should be formulated as follows: "Republics should be instructed to apply alternative models of national economic management to suit appropriate local conditions."

An analysis of this draft prompts a multiplicity of ideas. It can be said that it causes serious concern among Lithuania's residents. By taking this path, we may not attain sovereignty this century.

Correspondent: Next year, 1990, will see the start of the republic's practical transition to economic autonomy and real economic accountability. What are the specific features of this transition, and what specific steps have already been taken for its implementation?

K. Prunskene: It is still early to talk about real economic accountability, let alone economic autonomy, as from 1990. The transition, if it follows the document in question, will demand a lot of "fiddling around" and wasted time and effort to transform the management structure and the economic mechanism whose shortcomings we have already discussed. Nonetheless, new opportunities must be grasped and steps toward autonomy must be taken already in 1989. In my opinion, it is very important to immediately implement measures to switch industrial enterprises under union jurisdiction to extradepartmental status, and to elaborate a "protective" system of their operations for this purpose. Planning organs must make calculations for defining a composite law on centrally distributed resources and the sale of output along centralized channels outside the republic for the purpose of preventing breakdowns in deliveries, through bilateral contracts with the center, once an enterprise is no longer under the jurisdiction of a union ministry, whose sponsorship of the enterprise ceases.

Enterprise leaders and specialists must themselves engage in entrepreneurial activity and conclude long-term contracts between enterprises in different republics without interference by the center. This will ensure a gradual transition from a distributive to a market economy. It is necessary to work on the reduction of interrepublic hauls and the improvement of production with due consideration for local conditions, and to expand external ties with other countries. Real work has begun in this sphere.

Republican management organs have prepared a draft concept for the Lithuanian SSR which is somewhat more constructive, since it is founded on a more democratic economic mechanism for running the economy under republican jurisdiction, and specifically on the rejection of state orders for goods for the domestic market. But the restrictions prescribed in the draft union document cannot ensure the requisite "breadth" of this initial step toward republican economic accountability.

Correspondent: A certain difference still persists between the value of output shipped into and out of the republic. In roughly approximate figures, it produced a balance of payments deficit of over R1 billion for Lithuania in 1987. What is your opinion on this problem and the ways to solve it?

K. Prunskene: It is totally useless to talk about a balance of payments without having real price measures for imported and exported output. If we are to estimate the 1987 balance of payments, the deficit was over R1 billion according to a USSR State Committee for Statistics notification, but only R0.3 billion according to a special study conducted by the republic Council of Ministers. Given the absence of reliable statistics, especially on state sectors under union jurisdiction, it is almost impossible to "make ends meet." Under these circumstances, conditions are created for notification of balance of payments figures by a "verdict" from the USSR State Committee for Statistics.

It is impossible to overlook the fact that a sizable proportion of exported output is meat and dairy products, whose prices are relatively low and, in terms of their structure and levels, are impossible to compare with the prices of output purchased by the republic. Whenever attempts are made to resort to world food prices in estimates to show how unfavorable they would be for the balance of the republic's interrepublican trade turnover, I would mention two fundamental aspects: the unrealistic ruble exchange rate used in calculations on the one hand, and the impossibility of comparing the quality of technical means of production imported at high prices in the republic and that of corresponding means on the world market. While the food delivered to union stocks by the republic has a real use value, a sizable proportion of the equipment needs additional work done to it (one in every three combine harvesters or tractors has to be stripped down to its component parts to ensure that the other two are functional). Critically assessing some tools of labor in the world market, ours could be classed as brand new scrap metal.

I believe that, by autonomously shaping the structure of production and import-export operations, emancipating producers, and developing their commercial initiative, the republic will achieve better end results for the benefit of its own people, and this will also represent a greater contribution to the union economy.

Correspondent: The problem of the excessive industrialization of, for example, the Lithuanian economy and, incidentally, the economy of the other Baltic republics has recently been raised with increasing urgency and pushed in every possible way. This process does not reflect the other aspect of the question, the fact that these republics, including Lithuania, when compared with other regions in the country, enjoy the position of more developed states utilizing relatively cheap raw materials to produce finished and economically more advantageous articles. It is well known that, on the basis of such calculations, per capita incomes in "raw materials" regions (cotton-producing Turkmenia, for example, with a per capita income of R900) are much lower than in the industrially developed Baltic republics. What is your comment on this situation and how do you perceive a way out of it?

K. Prunskene: I do not agree with this presentation of the question, since it covers only the production of nonfood goods. Looking at it from the viewpoint of the republic's main specialized field—the agro-industrial complex (which accounts for about 50 percent of global social product)—we would see the reverse of the picture. At the same time, the following question comes to mind: How were the low prices for the cotton you mentioned formed and for what purpose were they built into a centrally managed economy? How are the Baltic republics to blame for this? I nevertheless perceive the way out of nonequivalent exchanges only in the market's development. But it would introduce such significant changes that I do not yet dare, even if it is possible at all, to quantify them in specific "balance of payments" terms without appropriate research.

Every nation and every region in the world has been given its own unique chance and method of existence and coexistence with others. Any leveling of these specific differences means preventing the revelation of society's potential and infringing its natural rights and interests. Every person, every nation or republic, has the right and duty to live according to the results of their labor. And if Lithuania cannot keep itself, as our opponents want to prove, then this actually is an important reason for its transfer to economic autonomy. I am convinced, and I have been able to see for myself, that most of Lithuania's residents are against claiming a "supplement" from a common pot or someone else's. We will earn our living through our own labor.

Correspondent: Thank you for the conversation.

Split in Lithuanian National Fronts Assessed

AU0505175989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 May 89 p 8

[Article by NOVOSTI correspondent Eduard Kristalkin: "What Is Happening in Lithuania?"]

[Text] It is not easy to answer this question, since even the current processes in the policy, economy, and other spheres of life in this Baltic republic are not unequivocal. These processes began in the course of restructuring and have raised the people's hopes that past mistakes would be rectified and the social situation would be made more just. Glasnost has uncovered dark places in the republic's history, giving rise to a general discussion about the most burning issues.

At the same time, a differentiation of social forces has occurred and two mass civic movements have emerged—the Lithuanian National Front and the International Working People's Front of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. The former primarily unites the Lithuanians, i.e. almost 50 percent of Lithuania's population; the latter unites the non-Lithuanians, i.e. primarily the Russian-speaking population.

"In matters not involving any elements of nationalism, our programs are very close," says Anatoliy Belaychuk, one of the leaders of the International Front.

The situation is a paradox: Both fronts are in favor of restructuring, both declare their support for the CPSU's present course (both have many Communists among their members), but they are unable to reach agreement, and are even hostile to each other.

"The International Front was set up to fight the National Front, which is why we can discuss things with its members. But it is impossible to set up cooperation with the International Front under the present conditions," claims Dajnis Ivans, chairman of the National Front Council.

So far, the opposition has been mostly on the ideological level. But today most mass information media are in sympathy with the National Front, which since the autumn of 1988 has been publishing its own bulletin, ATMODA (AWAKENING), practically the USSR's first official independent publication.

The International Front has so far had fewer opportunities to present itself to the public. In February and March it organized meetings and demonstrations but many Lithuanians regard some of the statements and proposals voiced there as extremist and even offensive. Several counterdemonstrations were held under the patronage of the National Front and organizations close to it. All this has merely exacerbated the tension and the split.

The two organizations have not come closer to each other, even during the election campaign of USSR deputies. On the contrary, the mutual opposition even intensified because, due to better organization, most deputies elected for Lithuania are candidates of the National Front or people who stand close to it.

How do the positions of the National and the International Front diverge?

In the discussion on the draft law on languages, the National Front is in favor of Lithuanian becoming the state language, whereas the International Front is fighting to make Lithuanian and Russian and Latgallian, which is related to the Lithuanian language, state languages. Both sides are advocates of considerable amendments to the published draft law. The International Front representatives are saying that some of its articles could lead to linguistic discrimination against the Lithuanian population. On the other hand, the followers of the National Front criticize the draft law because, as they say, it merely declares the status of Lithuanian as a state language, without making provisions for this.

A rapprochement of the stands could certainly be reached but it is not easy to do this when both sides maintain mostly uncompromising stands. For instance, at certain gatherings of the International Front one heard voices categorically rejecting the possibility of granting the status of a state language to Lithuanian. Moreover, one can also hear calls for strikes if the Lithuanian Supreme Court were to adopt such a resolution.

There are also conflicting stands on the law on Lithuanian citizenship which is currently under preparation. Obviously, it must not contain any discrimination against the Lithuanian population. But some representatives of the International Front reject the very idea of such a law, although in my view the draft law contradicts neither the international legal norms, nor the present constitutions of the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR.

Can the social forces in Lithuania become consolidated in this situation? And how can this be achieved? The objective basis for a possible consolidation is the people's interest in restructuring. Today the only force capable of heading this process is the Lithuanian Communist Party. The "inconsistencies" are already disappearing. The International Front has been granted permission to publish its information bulletin YEDINSTVO (UNITY). Its first issue came out on 22 March. The Communists are the initiators of a constructive dialogue between various social forces for the benefit of restructuring. The Communist Party's Central Committee holds regular meetings, to which it invites the leading representatives of both the National and the International Front, to search for ways to ease tension in relations between the nationalities and consolidate the healthy forces in the republic.

Lithuanian Ministry Official Comments on Tourism

LD0205142289 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 11 Mar 89 p 3

[Interview with Ricardas Vaigauskas, chief of Passport and Visa Section of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Foreign Affairs Ministry, head of the Work Group For Formation of Joint Enterprises, by Juozas Bulota under the rubric "Lithuania and Foreign Relations": "Will the Joint Enterprise Receive Tourists?"—date and place not given]

[Text] **The project offers a yearly sum of 6 million to the Republic. Is this practicable?**

An increasing number of foreign tourists visits Lithuania annually. For example, 16,000 tourists visited the republic in 1983, while in 1988 the number has already reached 86,000. How are we going to accommodate them in the future? The fact that Lithuania has a shortage of hotels,

and the services area is rather poor, does not come as any news. We fall behind many other countries in this respect. The Union Committee For Foreign Tourism handles only about 60 percent of foreign tourist firm applications for visits to Lithuania. Lucrative, entertaining, and widely popular tourist attractions, such as hunting and recreational and sports interests, have not been exploited to date. The seclusion of the republic also has a negative influence upon further expansion of tourism.

Future tourism should show a marked increase in Lithuania. Having set up modern tourist facilities, the republic could accommodate and serve 150,000-170,000 foreign tourists, realizing a profit of about R6 million in currency.

Last year, two conferences comprised of administrators from various departments were held by the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] State Planning Committee [Gosplan]. Problems of developing foreign tourism within the republic were discussed. A proposal to establish a joint enterprise (firm) to serve foreign and Soviet tourists in Lithuania and to enter directly into the international tourist market was agreed upon. The republic's administration was also supportive of this plan. An appropriate draft of a Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers decree was prepared. These activities came to a stop, however, as concrete proposals collided with the wall of bureaucracy. So what are we waiting for? Our neighbor Latvians and Estonians, in seeking greater economic independence and financial income, have established republic state organizations for tourist reception, and they have obtained good results.

We asked the Chief of the Passport and Visa Section of the Lithuanian SSR Foreign Affairs Ministry, and leader of the group for establishing a joint venture enterprise, Ricardas Vaigauskas, to tell us what types of difficulties one encounters in starting a joint enterprise, and what its goals and prospects are.

[Vaigauskas] Our goal is to establish in the republic a manufacturing-commercial joint enterprise having import-export rights and direct entry into the international tourism market. State organizations, associations, enterprises, banks, cooperatives, the Automobile Transport and Highway Ministry, the agro-industrial complex, and the Lithuanian Cooperative Association could be members of the enterprise. The main goal of this joint enterprise would be tourist handling, hotel and motel construction, provision of tourist souvenirs, either independently or in cooperation with foreign firms, and the sale of road maps through foreign tourist firms. It is very important to utilize all republic resources and infrastructures for tourist sojourns in the republic, and to maintain business ties with USSR tourist organizations.

The joint enterprise should operate under conditions of total economic accountability. The enterprise would turn over manufactured souvenirs to cooperatives for tourist services. It must be stressed that under current laws greater opportunities exist for cooperatives to provide better service for foreign tourists, and to attain greater economic effectiveness.

[Bulota] How do you envision the administration of a future joint enterprise—will it not be another bureaucratic apparatus?

[Vaigauskas] In my estimation, the highest organ of a joint enterprise, its administration, should be elected for a period of three years and should function along socialist lines. A small directorate, headed by a general director, would handle its current affairs and work supervision. The directorate should not be comprised of more than 10 individuals (approximately 100 individuals are currently employed by the Vilnius Intourist office), supported by percentage deductions from all existing tourist enterprises. Foreign currency, however, should be kept in a directorate account which should be handled by the administration, following deduction of budget payments.

[Bulota] What concrete steps need to be taken in order to start a joint venture?

[Vaigauskas] Vilnius City Soviet Executive Committee has been deliberating, for several months, whether to transfer the S. Zukas Street building (formerly a trade school) to the cooperative or joint venture enterprise. A three-star hotel with convention halls could be housed here, following renovation.

The question of transferring this building to the joint venture enterprise has not, however, been decided. In addition, many foreign firms are willling to organize meetings outside their countries' boundaries, thus making it possible for such a hotel to become a center for international functions. The most suitable location for such a hotel would be the former Tiskevicius Palace in Lentvarys, which is currently in a great state of neglect. It would be possible to recreate a beautiful park here, and to house a hotel with convention halls and a modern restaurant in the palace buildings.

It would be expedient to use foreign firms' assistance in the repair as well as in the hotel construction work.

Having constructed these two facilities and two additional motels and a hotel in Klaipeda, the joint venture enterprise would attain the status of a serious foreign tourism firm, able to compete with "Intourist" as well as able to contribute to the republic currency budget.

[Bulota] You mentioned motels. What are the prospects for automobile tourism in our republic?

Currently, automobile tourism remains almost forgotten in our country, in spite of the fact that West European tourists are happy to engage in automobile touring. A total of only about 2000 tourists visited us in 1988; they

were all forced to stay at the "Lithuania" Hotel. They were more interested in staying in camp grounds or motels, which don't exist in the republic.

I would like to point out certain facts to you. According to the statistics of West German tourism enterprises, there may be 50,000 automobile tourists traversing the M-12 (West Europe-Vilnius-Tallinn-Helsinki) in 1992. There could be up to 400,000 of them if the route were better prepared. These tourism projections are almost totally in agreement with estimates by Finnish tourist firms. These statistics were consulted by the Estonian-Finnish joint enterprise for tourism "Baltic Link."

[Bulota] How should the motels be set up, and can this be accomplished under present conditions?

Following the earlier mentioned discussions that were held by the State Planning Committee, and having obtained approval from the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, the "Kernave" Cooperative held negotiations with the English "SPEC Ltd" Firm for the establishment of a joint venture enterprise. This enterprise would construct, in the course of a year, a 200 unit motel-hotel, purchased abroad.

Upon signing of a contract and the acquisition of a financial loan, it could be completed in 7-8 months time (it would only require assembly). This would be the first, well-constructed automobile tourist motel, not only in Lithuania but in the entire territory of the USSR. It would become part of the general joint enterprise system and would assist in developing the foreign automobile tourist market along the Helsinki-Tallinn-Riga-Vilnius line and further into West Europe. In order to be able to build such a motel, however, one needs to first secure a financial loan.

[Bulota] Latvians and Estonians are establishing republic-state foreign tourist organizations. The work group which you are heading is proposing establishment of a joint venture enterprise. What is the basis for this proposal, and how do you anticipate cooperating with tourism organizations of the neighboring republics?

[Vaigauskas] A joint venture enterprise has more obligations. First of all, its members can use their private funds (non-budgetary). Our proposal enables us to adjust the price more flexibly and more effectively, without breaking any laws. The state bears no direct responsibility for the activity of the joint venture enterprise and its subunits. Economic accountability obligations are more effectivelly manifested in this type of an organization.

It is of utmost importance for the joint venture enterprise founded in Lithuania to immediately develop the closest possible business contacts with its Latvian and Estonian counterparts. This activity will become economically effective and meaningful only following establishment of a well-organized Baltic service and advertisement system.

Lithuanian 'Sajudis' Ecologist Deputy Interviewed

PM1005101489 Paris LIBERATION in French 27 Apr 89 p 33

[Interview with Zigmas Vaisvila, leader of the Sajudis ecology movement and Supreme Soviet deputy, by Vincent Tardieu; date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Chernobyl has generated ecological awareness in the USSR. In 1987 green clubs were formed within the Lithuanian Sajudis organization, whose nationalism is accompanied by an unfortunate tendency to ignore ecological problems in the other Soviet republics. Zigmas Vaisvila, its leader and the first green deputy elected to the Supreme Soviet on 26 March, is a 33-year-old physicist. He explained his movement's plans on the eve of the first congress of green clubs, which will be held in Vilnius on 2 May.

LIBERATION: After the accidents at Chernobyl and other power stations, do you think that nuclear energy should be discontinued?

Zigmas Vaisvila: I note that less nuclear energy is now used in the Soviet Union than in the past. The development of production has only increased for military reasons. But now that the Soviets and Americans are disarming—a process which should be continued—the myth of nuclear energy will collapse and we must completely rethink energy production.

The other major question is the safety of power stations and the treatment of nuclear waste. With regard to safety, it is vital to close down the Ignalina power station in Lithuania—the Soviet Union's biggest power station, with an output 1.5 times that of Chernobyl—which is in a particularly alarming state. In view of its geographical position, any accident could turn into a disaster for the USSR and for Western Europe.

Last September, to protest expansion plans—two fires had already led to its temporary closure in 1988—we formed a big human chain around the power station. We are asking for an independent international commission of inquiry into these accidents, about which nothing is known, and into the complete absence of safety in the reactors which are operating.

LIBERATION: What are the other major ecological problems facing the Soviets?

Zigmas Vaisvila: In our country, ecological problems are not raised at the top (the authorities) or at grass-roots level (the people), but by fringe groups (the intelligentsia and young people).

In the Yunov region, the roof of a big ammonia production unit collapsed, and a cloud of 10,000 cubic meters of ammonia escaped. Some 30,000 people had to be evacuated. I will give you another example: In the port of

Klaipeda (Lithuania)—one of the main ports exporting Soviet petroleum products—a huge oil tanker was recently damaged, and serious oil pollution followed. The whole coast was covered with oil. Also at Klaipeda, a whole train transporting oil was derailed.

We can also mention the construction of numerous dams, industrial pollution by metals in the Baltic and Kaunas seas, which kills huge numbers of fish, and toxic waste from one of the biggest cement works in Europe, which is in Lithuania, and which might be responisble for the increase in the number of cancers, which have risen from 2 percent to 5 percent.

LIBERATION: What is your position as an ecologist deputy to the Supreme Soviet?

Zigmas Vaisvila: We want to change the law on state secrecy. The existing Glavlit system (the state body which controls writing) is abusing censorship. Nobody knows what the notion of "state secrecy" legally covers, and Glavlit takes advantage of that ambiguity.

LIBERATION: Do you know of any cases in which the recent law on "crimes against the environment" has been used?

Zigmas Vaisvila: No, but at all events, that law is not very serious, because it applies only to collectives, and is not aimed specifically at officials. If a factory is condemned, everybody will suffer, including the workers who may have money deducted from their wages. With regard to officials, their fines are generally no higher than 100 rubles (less than 1 month's average salary). That is pointless. Having said that, a republican fund was created in Lithuania at the end of last year to locally administer the fines connected with pollution.

In future, the money will not all go to Moscow but will remain in the area to improve equipment and protect the environment. That is a major change.

Khabarovsk Sees Little Progress in Restructuring

OW0205101389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 23 Apr 89

[L. Stroykov video report from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Four years have passed since the opening of the April CPSU Central Committee plenum that laid the foundations of restructuring. [Video cuts from studio to show street scenes in Khabarovsk, Stroykov interviewing people identified by captions]

[Stroykov] Our Far Eastern land really is a long way away but it lives in tune with the rest of the country. The problems that concern people here are the same as those in the center and likewise the shelves in the stores are not overstocked. There is a similar desire to change everything for the better. What do the people of Khabarovsk think about restructuring?

[Begin recording] [P.A. Minakir, doctor of sciences] Possibly the most important thing is that recently we have finally rid ourselves of the firm conviction of many years, dozens of years, that our chosen path of development was the only possible one and the only reasonable path. Of course, one cannot say that in the past 4 years we have been able to work out a completely constructive program of change to other ways, but the very readiness of society to change and work out a reasonable program of this kind of change is already very important.

And second, possibly, there is the progress being made in the political structure of society within the country, which has been particularly intensive lately. There are still many misunderstandings here and many things that are not always constructive, but it is very important that this process has begun accompanying a desire for changes in the economic way of development.

[Stroykov] Has restructuring already given something to you personally?

[Minakir] Personally, I would probably say no.

[Stroykov] In your opinion, does restructuring have a brake mechanism?

[I.P. Shtepa, rayon party committee secretary] Yes, it probably has. On the one hand, there is the inertia of expectation. We are expecting some kind of way that will describe how it will be followed, what must be done for it. On the other hand, we have attempts to work boldly and innovatively from one's own position. At the same time, these attempts too are being subjected to regulation efforts with reference to some official position. I think this is particularly noticeable today in the economy.

On the other hand, today we are witnessing a great growth in people's social awareness. But we are still not managing to involve every person in constructive and specific work. It seems to me that only through actions can we stand up for [restructuring] and in connection with this it is most essential today to solve serious social issues.

[Stroykov] Has restructuring given you anything personally yet?

[A.S. Shukshin, USSR people's deputy and worker] I still have not felt any obvious results. Why? Well because I feel our bureaucrats are still strong, they still have power in their positions. Why? Well, we say everything for the person, everything in the name of the people's welfare, but these results are not noticeable yet. I have not been a USSR people's deputy for a long time yet but many people have approached me with various complaints. At first glance they appeared simple, but in terms of finding a solution they take up a great deal of time. The people

who should be solving these issues by virtue of their official positions, who should be improving the living conditions of our people, seem to be the real brakes on our restructuring.

I would like to say that only we together, all of us beginning with the worker and ending with the top echelon, must come to grips with the problem and struggle against ingrained bureaucratism, using any rostrum—newspapers, radio, and television—in this task. [end recording]

'Hooligans' Spoil May Day Holiday in Ashkhabad
18000930a Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[Report by M. Volkov: "Hooligan Raid"]

[Text] Ashkhabad, 2 May—Today Turkmen television ran an unusual program. Microphones were given to the first secretary of the Ashkhabad party city party committee [gorkom] N. Baleshev and the subdivision chief of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD], Major General B. Dovletov. Nikolay Fedorovich discussed how Ashkhabad residents were preparing for the holiday. He mentioned that the city had conducted the elections of people's deputies and the communist Saturday on a high level and that the labor collectives had worked fairly well in the pre-May watch. Workers went to the celebratory procession on 1 May in a good mood. After the demonstration the celebration was moved to the parks, squares, and streets. People were enjoying themselves with their families and children. But, unfortunately, N. Baleshev stated, in certain regions of the city the holiday was spoiled by hooligans.

B. Dovletov discussed this in detail. In his words, a group of about 200 people, mainly student youth, instigated by criminal elements, began near evening to attack the stores, stalls, and restaurants, breaking their windows. Several motor vehicles were partially damaged. When representatives of the community and the police had exhausted all possibilities of convincing the adolescents that they had to halt their illegal actions immediately, measures of a coercive nature were taken. No less than 100 violators were arrested, but none were injured. The individuals who caused the disorder were discovered and an investigation is under way. The situation in the city is peaceful.

I asked Turkmen SSR Minister of Foreign Affairs V. Grinin to comment on the incident. Here is what he said:

"There had been rumors of possible disorders in the city for a long time. Without attaching special significance to them we were still prepared to protect the residents from any excesses. And on 1 May our posts sounded the alarm. The subdivisions acted efficiently and there was no need to resort either to tear gas or to night sticks.

"Those who were arrested explained their actions by referring to the high prices of the cooperatives and the poor quality of their goods and services. But the methods of protest they chose, as we see, were those of hooligans.

Fight Against Racketeering in Leningrad Described
18000928 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[Article by Militia Lieutenant Colonel V. Kabakin: "What Keeps the Racket Going"]

[Text] The office of N. Gorbachevskiy, the section chief for combating organized crime in the UUR [Criminal Investigations Administration] of the GUVD [Main Administration of Internal Affairs] of the Leningrad Oblast Executive Committee, resembled combat headquarters: employees were reporting on the situation, receiving instructions, and, in complicated cases, holding short conferences. In the corner, a tea kettle was boiling all the time, and small pies and buns were laid out at the coffee table—the operation had been under way for several hours by then.

Close to the window, deputy department chief in the investigative administration Ye. Nikitin was wrapped up in work with charts and notes. His task was to analyze all information received and introduce corrections into the plan of operation, on the spot. In other offices, suspects were being interrogated, witnesses were giving statements, identification and confrontations were being held. It was clear that an organized group of criminals who had kept the cooperatives of Leningrad sweating had ceased to exist.

Said Gorbachevskiy: "This is not the first group. At first, we neutralized the gang of the Vasilyev brothers. Soon after that, we found out the group managed by Sidyak (15 persons!), and then the gang of Samoletov. All of them were involved in one and the same thing—racketeering.

In our country, racketeering appeared simultaneously with organized crime groups in the time of stagnation. It was a result of the "modernization" which occurred in the criminal world in response to the emergence of the shadow economy. This needs to be particularly stressed, because some people have come to believe that racketerring arose exclusively due to cooperatives, and that they are supposedly the reason for the development of organized crime groups.

It was precisely the shadow economy operators, hard-currency dealers, speculators, crooked bartenders, and prostitutes involved in obtaining non-labor-related incomes who first fell prey to racketeering. All the criminals did was to regroup as cooperatives appeared, and large sums of money turned out to be concentrated there.

Ye. Nikitin believes that "racketeering involves mostly groups. This is understandable, because on your own it is difficult to force a person to fork money over. The composition of groups differs. As a rule, there is strict discipline within the groups, and responsibilities are divided: there are ringleaders, scouts, guards, and commandos. Physically strong young people (usually former boxers, wrestlers) are drafted for the two last 'jobs.' The most alarming thing is that the criminals vigorously seek to establish contacts with the law enforcement organs for the sake of security."

The methods of operation by the racketeers are marked by exceptional impudence, cynicism, and unscrupulousness in the choice of means: blackmail, threat of reprisals, violence. Securing a large sum of money in a single operation may be their goal. However, more frequently they try to collect permanent tribute from their "proteges," and expand the sphere of their influence. Conflicts arise out of this, including armed skirmishes between rival groups.

"Racketeering is just one of the ways of illegal profiteering by the racketeers," says Gorbachevskiy. "They are not above robbery, theft in apartments, muggings, and fraud.... Some of the groups have committed 40 or more crimes before being discovered by the militia organs. They have no notion of morality at all."

The department of criminal investigations in Leningrad has been combating such organized crime groups for almost 3 years. Over this period of time, the city has been purged of hundreds of criminals associated with dozens of groups.

Deputy chief of the Administration of Criminal Investigations A. Shavgulidze says: "Certainly, some things in this matter do not proceed smoothly. Last year we increased [the strength of] the department by two times. This will allow us to enhance the struggle against organized groups. However, the issue of technical equipment and the availability of transportation concerns us. In applying countermeasures against the militia, the criminals use state-of-the-art imported equipment, video devices, radio communications, portable computers; they have the most up-to-date cars, with powerful engines...."

"There are also other problems, which, I will note, are very much those of principle, mainly in the sphere of legislation"—with these words Nikitin joins the conversation. "It appears to me that society has not yet completely realized the threat posed by organized crime. For example, how can we explain the fact that the notion of an organized crime group is not even found in the new draft of Basic Criminal Legislation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and union republics? Article 44 sort of classifies the commission of crime by such a group as an aggravating circumstance. However, this is to be determined on a case-by-case basis by investigators and the courts. There is no system of evaluation."

Meanwhile, in the absence of clear-cut legal bearings and experience, court practices reveal much caution and reluctance to review such cases, and are guided by customary stereotypes in the process. The already mentioned ringleader of the criminals, S. Vasilyev, was not convicted at all of organizing the group, leading it, and preparing illegal operations, the conduct of which brought him enormous proceeds, but merely of...one count of fraud and speculation. His brother B. Vasilyev was acquitted altogether.

The point is that, while organizing racketeering, the leaders of groups frequently avoid participation in specific actions. They are involved in "general" management. The imperfection of the law allows them to evade responsibility, because only those directly involved are held responsible. As the sleuths joke bitterly, for the ringleaders "there is no article and no court."

It appears that in this respect the introduction of criminal penalties for the very organization of stable criminal groups, for the "theoretical" leadership of them, and for any participation in them is by now a matter of great urgency. After all, there is an analog—article 77 of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Penal Code, which envisages penalties for banditry.

The malefactors use all loopholes in the law ingeniously. Thus, a decree of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet dated 12 January 1989 increased penalties for extortion. The law defines it as as a demand to hand over assets, or title to them, under the threat of violence or with the use of blackmail. However, does this cover all the tricks the criminals have been using? Unfortunately it does not. For example, the racketeers have begun foisting their services on cooperative operators, supposedly in order to ensure their protection and security, and demanding a great deal of money for that. It appears that such actions should also be regarded as a peculiar form of extortion; after all, this is what they essentially amount to.

Gorbachevskiy continued: "Traditional ways of securing evidence against organized groups frequently fail to work at present. This requires that we continuously look for creative, non-standard solutions. However, we need help; in particular, the issue of improving the system of evidence should be resolved through legislation. Sometimes the criminals go unpunished due to the witnesses changing their testimony at the trial because they have been bribed or intimidated. This can be avoided if the courts admit as evidence videotapes, films and pictures shot in the course of investigative work on exposing the criminals, as is the case in other countries."

Let me note that the issues of legal protection for witnesses belong in this sphere as well. There have been cases when militia employees, fearing that violence would be inflicted on the witnesses by the criminals, advised the former to change residence for a period of

time (and even hid them at various addresses themselves). Perhaps we need to allow anonymous testimony, if the witness so desires (but not anonymous for the investigation and the court), and to impose severe penalties for leaking information.

Such measures are necessary: In 600 cases of racketeering registered last year, statements were given by the victims in only 139 cases. They fear reprisals, and do not believe in effective help on the part of the employees of internal affairs organs. Let me add that, in turn, the militia does not take the necessary measures, claiming that there are no statements.

Apparently, new forms of work are needed while legal specialists are busy writing laws. In Leningrad, employees of the criminal investigations office gathered the chairmen of all cooperatives, had a conversation with them, and provided them with the phone numbers which they can call anytime. Operations agents are dispatched immediately after the call is made.

Gorbachevskiy told us about the following case. A citizen came to the criminal investigations office and announced:

"I am a cooperative chairman; I am taking goods worth about 100,000 rubles to the fair. On the way back, I will have that amount of money. I am asking to have guards detailed to me."

Criminal investigations employees looked at each other: They had not yet been approached with requests like that. As he was leaving, empty-handed, the cooperative chairman observed:

"Since state agencies cannot help us, I will have to talk to the commandos."

This is a serious issue. There already are cooperatives which are set up especially for guarding other cooperatives. There have also been cases when chairmen of cooperatives approached criminal groups with requests to provide protection from other bandits. This amounts to nothing other than a merger of cooperatives and crime. There is no need to explain what dangers this is fraught with. I believe that providing guard service to cooperatives by militia employees on a commercial basis is quite acceptable. After all, such a procedure for state organizations and offices exists. Many cooperatives, which handle hundreds of thousands of rubles, are prepared to pay in order to ensure reliable protection. This money will come in handy for the internal affairs agencies. It would be used for incentives to employees, and for improving equipment.

Combating racketeering and organized crime calls for a consistent and timely increased effort, and for a unified state program. We cannot afford to be late in this matter.

Roots, Manifestations of Teenage Crime Examined
18000905 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 27 Apr 89 pp 3-4

[Article by Nadezhda Shevchenko, SELSKAYA ZHIZN special correspondent: "The Pack"]

[Text] "First, the teenagers went by. There were more than a hundred of them. The teenagers, wearing blue blouses and with their heads shaven, proceeded under the escort of mounted militia. These were 'the spinners,' members of one group marching to settle a score with another group similar to theirs. The militia did not steer their course but simply kept an eye on them until the teenagers went home. In the street where the procession took place there was no melee. However, in another corner of town the boys clashed violently, and the bloodied body of a 16-year-old was left lying on the pavement...."

"A group of young people on motorcycles suddenly attacked a foreign car carrying a member of the diplomatic corps. The car was heavily damaged...."

"One guy on the bus gave me the finger, and this hurt me. I saw a brick 9 cm by 9 cm, and threw it at a side window, somewhere toward the back door. I saw that the brick broke the window. Along with me, they pelted the bus with stones and sticks...."

I copied these excerpts from the press file given to me for familiarization at the All-Union Research Institute of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. The following is from the editorial mail. There are 21 signatures under a letter to the editor from the village of Raskatikha in Alapayevskiy Rayon, Sverdlovsk Oblast: "The feud of the young people of our two villages began after Raskatikha was incorporated into the village of Diveyevo. It had central facilities, a 10-year school, a school of music, and a modern House of Culture which has everything needed for the young people's recreation. Obviously, our young people are also drawn there, to Deyevo. On Saturdays, they have a great disco there, evening events, dancing. However, as soon as our guys from Raskatikha go in, someone immediately says: 'Kill the music, the 'dushmans' are here again....' Why they call ours 'dushmans' is hard to understand, but that is beside the point. The point is that a real war between the villages has broken out. The most horrible thing is that the adults are being drawn into it. Recently there was yet another fight, and they beat one guy black and blue. They tossed him into the gutter and set upon another one, Vyacheslav Vodovozov. He lost consciousness several times, but as soon as he came to they would torture him again, dragging him by his hair. You should hear what they yell in the course of these fights: 'Kill him, he oughta be killed!' or 'Here they are! Pals, let's go and slaughter them....' One guy was crippled when they threw a full bottle of vodka in his face. A trial has already come about, but we still cannot keep them apart. There is one fight after another...."

There are eight pages of a story overflowing with savagery and barbarity. How would you respond to a letter like that? How would you respond to another one? "It also happened before that teenagers in villages clashed violently," remarks a reader quite far removed from the city line and the perils of urbanization. "However, at present they do battle differently: with more wickedness and cruelty, without any armistice. Why? What has been happening to present-day young people?"

This is not an idle or rhetorical question. No matter how you, my reader, strain your memory, you would not, perhaps, recall a case whereby mounted militia personnel would "herd"—at what time?—a crowd 100 strong (!), with their heads shaven (!), and in uniforms (!). It is also hard to recall motorized raids on diplomatic cars by rockers. Somehow the imagination of "raiders," unaffected by accelerated growth, did not go beyond the neighbor's garden or someone else's shed in times past.

Incidentally, as the GAI [State Automobile Inspectorate] personnel themselves observe, most of the rockers are normal, regular guys. However, here is a "detail" which, to my mind, requires special interpretation, as well as the blue shaven-head uniformity. The same GAI inspectors note: "When a drunk leader or ringleader, frequently with a black flag flying on a flagstaff, leads the entire convoy into an obvious violation of the rules, almost all (sometimes a hundred motorcycles in the pack—note by Nadezhda Shevchenko) thoughtlessly follow. Against a red light—so be it! In the lane with oncoming traffic, at a speed of 100 km an hour...." Why?

Let us leave the rockers alone, the same as "vandals" and "heavy metal freaks," about whom, until recently, we knew not a thing, whereas now there is a lot [written and said] about them. Here, however, is information having nothing to do with the "vandals" or "heavy metal freaks."

In September through December of last year alone, about 50 mass fights among young people, in which between 60 and 200 persons took part, occurred in front of the House of Culture of the Mogilev "Khimvolokno" Association. Teenagers from rural areas studying at the PTU's [Vocational Technical Schools] took an active part in group skirmishes. On 19 October, at 19:00, a crowd of 100 went "clashed violently" in the square next to the city committee of the party.

In Belovskiy Rayon of Kursk Oblast, at the "Kommunar" Sovkhoz, a group of 40 rural teenagers forced their way into a local club, and set upon the students who had come to the farm to do agricultural work. Injuries to the head were noted. Two persons were brought up on criminal charges....

The array of incidents enumerated may also be expanded by using fresher "case studies" from militia summary reports, which are extremely concise in their narrative style but instructive enough in their essence, in order to observe: there is a world of difference between the current street skirmishes of teenagers, and fights, the traditional jostling of boys. The difference is in the motives, the number of participants, which is creeping [upward], as well as in the stratagems. Unfortunately, the street honor code with its commandment "seven do not beat up one" has quite noticeably disappeared from today's street corners. Seven do beat up one, and beat him to death frequently—with refinement, openly flaunting their crimes. Why?

How in the world should we interpret the fact that, as shown by one survey, even boys who consider themselves even-tempered, fair, very kind, and not troublemakers, do not experience any pangs of conscience when looking at a victim whom they have crippled with metal bars—so that talking about any mercy is pointless? How should we evaluate the results of other surveys? In response to the question "Is it easy for you to hit a person?" about one-half of teenagers wrote "Easy, including strangers." More than two-thirds said that they would do it without thinking to a man who is unpleasant to them. As far as the "enemy" or "outsider" is concerned, 80 percent of those polled expressed the desire to beat him up.

Perhaps now is the time to give the floor to specialists. What is their diagnosis? Where do they see the causes and roots of the emerging alarming phenomena? How do they explain the increased aggressiveness in the youth community?

I called the department chief at the GUUR [Main Administration of Criminal Investigations] of the USSR MVD Militia, Colonel G.I. Filchenkov. The answer was more than just unexpected: "How did you determine that aggressiveness was increasing? Statistics reveal the exact opposite: The number of violent crimes committed by minors is decreasing...."

I explained as best I could: I am familiar with statistics; I spent several years at the USSR MVD Research Institute, the All-Union Institute of the USSR Prosecutor's Office, and at the USSR MVD Academy where, incidentally, while commenting on these very statistics, they directed my journalistic attention to the fact that, along with a decrease in violent crime, an increase in its cruelty had been registered. Does this not testify to increasing aggressiveness? Does this not testify to the increasing social danger of the crimes themselves?

The answer: "If the crimes were becoming more cruel, we would not be talking now about reducing repressive tactics. As far as what you call the social danger is concerned, not only does it fail to increase, but, to the contrary, it decreases."

At first it even seemed to me that I heard something wrong. At my desk in the editorial office, next to the phone, there are letters, all with the same observation:

"It is frightening to walk out into the street." It turns out that it is not frightening at all: neither the social danger, nor this obscure aggressiveness are increasing.

It turned out that I heard it right. In finishing our conversation, which never got off the ground, G.I. Filchenkov asked me again: Did I get him right? In case I went ahead and quoted him in my writings. I read it back as I understood it, and it turned out to be right.

I do not rule out the possibility that the view of the problem voiced by G.I. Filchenkov is due to some objective features: crime statistics, "secret" as of the moment our conversation took place, and departmental restrictions on opinions which, incidentally, became apparent in conversations with others. I am looking at my work table—now there are six tape recorder cassettes on it, each 1 and ½ hours long, all of them with recordings of conversations with specialists. There are more than 10 expert opinions, often contradictory. One specialist persuades you that vandalism in our country is increasing, another that, to the contrary, it is going down. In one case, increasing social stress of teenagers is called the cause of aggression. In another case, a criminologist of renown limply shrugs his shoulders: "Thus far, such stress is only registered at the journalistic level...."

Some specialists argue out loud: The violence by minors is a quite adequate reflection of the violence of adults with regard to them—the teachers are dictating, and the parents are suppressing. Other authorities have their own, more profound interpretation: "We should not explain the escalation of teenage spontaneity in such simplistic terms...." At some places, they emphasize weightily the notorious trials in our conversation about the morality of this generation: "Do you believe that who we denounce, and over what sums in bribes, is having no effect?" However, there is a counter-argument to this elsewhere: "However, the young man is influenced by his father or mother more than he is by information on how many thousands a ranking state official has received in bribes...."

I am not at all quoting these differences in order to cast aspersions on some competent authority. My doubts are different. If we had a center or an institute for studying youth problems in their entirety, not only from the departmental but also from the broadest possible positions, we could expect the picture of the phenomena represented to be more complete, and more precise. Thank God we have enough specialists. They themselves agree, and acknowledge that it would be nice not only to have a general cross-section of the actual behavior of the young people, but to study the rural segment more attentively—the criminologists do not have much information on rural areas.

Certainly, it would be nice. Incidentally, at one time such research in rural areas was done. At the end of last century, the imperial ethnographic commission developed and published a program for studying village life which envisaged tracking the attitude of peasants of all generations to the criminal law, their thinking about this law, and their compliance with it. At present, almost a century later, we have no similar programs for rural areas, as well as for the young people, which would combine the efforts of economists, sociologists, demographers, legal scientists, and psychologists.

Instead, we have opinions. A representative of one ministry believes that aggressiveness is decreasing. A representative of another one, in the field of pedagogy, believes that it is growing: I have counted six kinds of aggression, all the way to "stage-managed" and "real," in one work on informal organizations. The third opponent made his more precise remarks: "Nothing is as irritating to a specialist as conversations about the young people in general. Besides, what aggression are we going to talk about: instrumental or...?" What is your opinion on this question, my reader? When they start raping somebody, what will be more interesting—is this a school student or a working teenager? Is aggression instrumental in his brain, or is it not?

However, let us get closer to the essence of the diagnosis. I will quote only some opinions of specialists on this issue, and leave it up to the reader to evaluate what appears to be most convincing in them.

First opinion:

Senior research fellow of the USSR MVD Research Institute V.A. Grishin believes: "As I see it, the problem of increasing aggressiveness of the young people at present is much more complex and comprehensive than the mere statistical image of violent crime is. Yes, we are finding that the number of murders committed by minors is decreasing. On the other hand, the incidence of hooliganistic manifestations is increasing. Why? I believe that one of the main causes is found in the high degree of alienation of teenagers and the young people from our official structures of upbringing. They don't like school, they do not believe their parents, the Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] is no authority to them. We are no longer successful in filling the void with various forms of leisure, to which we attached great hopes not so long ago. The accumulated mistrust of society, in which the double standard of the time of stagnation prevailed for a long time, where one thing was proclaimed and another one flourished, where morality was trampled on, where falsehood and evil triumphed, where ideals became fuzzy, and values were deflated—tell me, is this not fraught with consequences? With a dose of nihilism on the part of young people? Unfortunately, it is also fraught with a negative approach. After all, alienation inescapably brings about opposition. It also fosters protest in teenagers, who are naturally prone to extremes, and shapes the desire to take revenge at least in something—beat people up, defile, destroy, sometimes senselessly and cruelly...."

Second Opinion:

Says V.V. Pankratov, sector chief at the All-Union Institute for the Issues of Reinforcing Law and Legal Order of the USSR Prosecutor's Office: "The psychological, inner charge of the teenager today also derives from the fact that it is increasingly difficult for him to rise up to the 'heights' which are being set for him overtly or covertly. Everybody makes demands on him: the school—that he study well, and do not interfere with classroom work; the parents—that he behave decently; the friends—that he make a lot and spend a lot; his girlfriend—that he dress well. Tell me, where he is to get it all? Tell me, what has become better in his life in the last 10 to 15 years, so that he himself could become better? Is he being taught better? Is he getting accustomed to labor more? Maybe they started drinking less? Or fight less within families?

Here is stress for you: You want a lot, but how do you get it? Hence being high-strung, and the inner readiness to discharge the pent-up energy on something. What follows depends on who is going to happen by, and which way and to what deeds he will lead...."

Third Opinion:

Says the third specialist: "I believe that the years of so-called stagnation and deceleration turned out to be frightening also because we, society as a whole, began to lose the feeling of morality, moral criteria, and bearings. The loss of a moral backbone cannot but bring about confusion. In turn, a confused society becomes intolerant. Do you remember Shukshin's 'Till the Third Rooster Crows'? Having found Ivan at the place of the daughter of Evil Witch, Boogeyman forces him to dance, asking him in the process: Why don't you soar with eagles? So, as I see it, the brilliant Shukshin observed very perceptively the features of the portrait of the epoch of stagnation: Man was instructed not only to be silent, but also to soar with eagles, to rejoice over what he did not subscribe to deep down. All of us know well what this has brought about. Even now, the pent-up social tension largely erupts, burning our society, and not necessarily in a controlled manner. This is particularly characteristic of the youth community...."

Briefly, these are just some of the opinions. You would agree that it is difficult to argue down the obvious in them. However, this is not the whole truth yet.

Unfortunately, we have to admit that not just Raskatikha is sending alarm messages. In general, it is naive to believe that at present you can sleep better in the village than you can in the city. Indeed, it is more peaceful in some respects. For example, the infamous "rockers" do not howl under your very window in such numbers. The "punks" do not shock you with blue and green crests of hair. The "wild parties" which have come to abide at city porches and squares are not apparent thus far either. There is barely something identifiable in front of the local club: perhaps not a "wild party," but it is not socializing on the back porch the way it once used to be.

Here is a paradox, against this apparently undisturbed background. Strange as it may seem, the share of crimes committed by minors sometimes turns out to be higher than the average for the area. Some research carried out reveals other alarming trends, which are quite unexpected in rural areas. For example, the coefficient of intensity of violent crime among minors is greater in some villages than in the city, which means that per number of population, rural teenagers kill, rape, and beat cruelly, inflicting injuries, more often. They steal less, but mostly social assets. If they fight, it is increasingly often "group against group," and increasingly "in violent clashes," especially if the rural guys cannot come to terms with the urban ones. As a writer observed here, home-spun "fist fights," which increasingly often end in death, are now becoming a favorite sport for a certain segment of rural young people.

Unlike literary figures, the criminologists are more aware of something else: Those doing battle plug the cruelty and brazenness of fights into the formula of "avenging reality." "If they are not going to let us into the disco or the video arcade, we will destroy them all": This is how, or approximately how, a rural teenager explains his participation in the "ice massacres" of the "city folks" and the city teenager.

The massacres indeed turn your soul to ice. The sound systems of urban youth cafes are crushed (they are better than in their House of Culture), fire is set to the doors of cinemas (why are they showing this movie here before we in the village get to see it?), and they pick on people resting in parks and along boulevards ("That is how we do it!", "Let us bring the city to its knees!"). However, if you give it a thought, it is the rural areas that are on their knees. This is why the following regularity is so apparent to a criminologist: the narrower the scope of opportunities (to own, to study, to work, to rest, and so forth) becomes for a teenager in the provinces compared to the capital cities, the more intensely is violence exported in the opposite direction, from the periphery toward the center.

Here is another, strictly rural, nuance. In a city, "possessing" certain prestige items (bleached jeans, discs, imported [sound and video] equipment) serves as an "entry ticket" to a group for a teenager; in rural areas, due to the small number of such "owners," another condition becomes a ticket to the clan: absolute and cruel subordination to the leader, who is frequently supported by an influential circle of relatives. A "dedovshchina" of sorts, a "village mafia," is established, which, as any other mafia, is always capable of fielding a henchman for "the job." As they say, just holler, and he will be here. Some will come out of fear, some under the duress of bondage. Mostly, they come due to their feelings of

inferiority and the recognition of being "second-rate," which has already been impressed on them, and which they, thirsting for revenge, will—they are ready now—take out on others.

In this instance it is difficult to avoid drawing an analogy with "the Kazan phenomenon," about which quite a lot has been written in the press and said on TV recently. In the "war between youth groups"—this is how sociologists decipher the phenomenon in brief—the same inferiority motives are visible quite clearly: after all, it is the outskirts which are in turmoil, the so-called "workers' settlements," which are constantly visited by the moods of the social outcast, and "sideline" inferiority. At any rate, if current statistics are to be believed, the Volga area scenario is "walking" across the country quite successfully, striking root particularly well where it is in demand. I mean demand, because it is hard not to notice: When carving up the city into the spheres of influence, the "spinners" pass by somewhat indifferently the teenagers who are, as we would say, from good families. Protection money collectors leave alone the son of a party secretary or an executive committee functionary, not because the "authorities" are behind them, but rather because they are not their—"spinner"—material. They subjugate and control others, not socially protected or socially affiliated.

Are these not the reasons why our PTU's, especially rural ones, forced to take under their wing a majority of problem teenagers renounced by the school, and not supervised by the family, are something of a "miniature Kazan," accounting for a sizable share of the youth crime rate? The costs of vertical and horizontal social stratification are particularly perceptible in these PTU's. This very social inferiority, social "outsiderism" of sorts, brings teenagers together like nothing else, and recruits like-minded people, herding them with increasing frequency into "packs" and "crowds," which are at times uncontrollable. More precisely, they are very controllable indeed if a purchaser is found for their spontaneity.

Let us note that at present it is becoming easier to buy the excess energy of the rolling street sea. I will refer in this instance to the results of a survey of juvenile offenders.

It turns out that 10 rubles in pocket money by no means suits a contemporary teenager. The average sum mentioned was 80 to 100 rubles—the wage (!) of a nurse or hospital attendant. Also, somewhat less than half of all those surveyed would agree not to work anywhere at all "as long as we have everything." Eighty percent would prefer to have a job which brings in illicit income. To the question "Do you believe that connections are necessary in life?" all of them, to a man, said "yes," "exactly," "that's the way," and "how else." In ranking the [factors for] success in life, they placed financial well-being third, unlike their peers of the 1970's, who ranked money and property 11th.

The contrast is striking. The desire to have a lot and to work little in order to get it, counting on "windfall" income, on the money "which itself sticks to your fingers"—you would agree with me that these are good conditions for their future buying and selling by businesslike sponsors, whom we do have in our country, in light of the recognition of [the existence of] organized crime. Is this not the reserve for "a job" in need of recruits, all the more so if "their elevator does not go all the way to the top?"

Incidentally, you can get those whose elevator does not go all the way to the top with your bare hands, not even with money. It may be more reliable and cheap to get them with "an idea." After all, it is only in the movies, be it even documentaries, that a young man allows himself to get disappointed: "I am not aware of an idea which is worth dying for today...." In real life, all you have to do is to give this missing idea—look how many of them are in the air! They will go willingly in the name of 'an idea.' They will fight, beat people up, and maybe kill them—such elements will stop at nothing, all the more so if it is young, if it is sufficiently warmed up.

Is this not what nationalist extremism, which has manifested itself enough in Alma-Ata and Sumgait, is banking on? Is not the "ideological" feeding of teenage spontaneity responsible for these lines from operational summaries out of Nagorno-Karabakh: "Students of the 5th and 6th grade took part, and became involved in nationalist pogroms"? Finally, is it not the desire to simply become close to somebody that prompts masses of 16-year-olds to wander from one informal group to another, not necessarily as harmless as the "mitkas" who came to be in Leningrad?

No, among all kinds of "mitkas" there are also the "black ones." If competent persons are to be believed, some groups of them are beginning to study the history of Nazi Germany, at the same time taking intensive athletic training. What are the "black ones" preparing their muscles for?

What are the designs of those who talk with growing persistence about privileges "for ourselves" and rights for the "aliens?" What new incidents is this by now political orientation fraught with, against the general background of the growing crime rate among young people?

This is, perhaps, the last and the most important question. Is the reason for the difficulty and, thus far, the lack of success in curing the current "ills" of the youth found in the fact that they are no longer amenable to treatment by using traditional remedies—school, leisure, family—because they are symptoms of more complex and profound social deviance? All the more so, these remedies as institutions have already given way, not to say "burst." This is one very long thought....

Perhaps it could be expressed more concisely, like "don't blame the mirror [if your face is all crooked]." However, I don't want to hastily sweep into the same corner the entire troubling and disjointed nature of this problem. You must agree that we may wander all we want in the maze of a discussion on what kind of young people we have now—the right or the wrong kind, worse than before or better than before. Until we agree and recognize that the young people are always "the right kind," the one the entire society has deserved or deserves, we will not overcome useless disputes about the young people. It does not matter how much rock music is blamed in the course of these arguments, or the movies with their "scarecrows," "accessories," "couriers," "burglars," and "little Veras," to which "harlequins" are now added.

It is no pity to break what is falling apart—this, one believes, is the reason why they burglarize things and become accessories increasingly often. They themselves are without a single inner entity—fragmented—and many of them being around. On this point I agree with the sociologist K. Myalo from the Institute of the International Workers' Movement: After all, the teenagers see the degree to which we are now torn by the contradictions of group ambitions—departmental, clan, and territorial.

Understandably, even a normal head would indeed be spinning in a society breaking up into people's fronts, warring ministries and departments, feuding groups of journalists—in a society which is losing the feeling of comradeship, depleting the credit of confidence in each other, and giving up the formula of social contract as a very significant cementing idea which prevents any commonwealth from decaying into the chaos of internecine warfare. Who do you go to, who do you follow?

After all, it is only the good thing that they leave alone, and evil makes them look around. On occasion they come upon something. This is why the hoisted black banner flying in the wind concerns me.

Where will it lead us?

Supreme Court Considers Picketing Violations

18000924 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS-attributed report: "In the USSR Supreme Court"]

[Text] A regular plenum of the USSR Supreme Court has taken place under the chairmanship of S.I. Gusev, acting chairman of the USSR Supreme Court.

The plenum considered a report from the USSR Procurator General on issues arising in connection with the increasingly frequent cases of violations of public order in the form of picketing.

In the resolution adopted the USSR Supreme Court plenum elucidated that picketing of state or public enterprises, establishments, organizations and other objects should be regarded as a form of demonstration, and that in this connection, in the organization and conducting of picketing the rules as laid down in the 28 July 1988 USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree "On Procedures for the Organization and Conducting of Assemblies, Meetings, Street Processions and Demonstrations in the USSR" should be observed. Failure to comply with these requirements will entail the consequences as provided for in Article 8 of this decree.

The plenum reviewed 169 criminal cases and a number of civil cases in response to appeals to the chairman of the USSR Supreme Court and the USSR Procurator General. They included 150 cases concerning persons subjected to unjustified repression during the 1930's and 1940's, and early 1950's. The overwhelming majority of these persons (101) were condemned after being accused of anti-Soviet agitation. The basis of these charges were expressions of dissatisfaction with the material conditions of life for the workers (even though they did reflect the actual state of affairs), skepticism of press reports, in particular the communiques of the Soviet Information Bureau during the early years of the Great Patriotic War, statements of disagreement with government policy in the field of kolkhoz construction, expressions of sympathy for eminent party and state figures accused of being "enemies of the people," and other similar charges.

The plenum recognized that since these statements did not contain calls to overthrow, undermine or weaken Soviet power, that is, that the necessary attribute of a crime as provided for in the legislation of the time was lacking, the condemnation of all those persons was unjustified.

Seventeen persons were sentenced for making preparations to commit "acts of terrorism" against "party and state leaders" even though in reality they had no such intention and no evidence of preparations to commit an act of terrorism was shown in the cases.

In some cases, instances of direct falsification of evidence was found, and because of this, these cases were dismissed and the persons involved deemed rehabilitated.

In accordance with the Law on the USSR Supreme Court, which permits the inviting of a defendant's lawyer to a plenum, and also injured parties, civil plaintiffs and civil defendants and their representatives, the defending lawyers of the defendants participated in the reviews of some criminal cases. In particular, during the review of the case of R.A. Tsaturyan, accused of embezzlement, the plenum could not agree with the conclusions of his defending counsel, A.B. Berman, who considered that Tsaturyan was guilty only of the abuse of his official position. At the same time, the plenum did find that the

sentence imposed on Tsaturyan was extraordinarily severe and reduced the term, offered amnesty and released Tsaturyan from guard.

The plenum (on a report from a member of the USSR Supreme Court Zh.K. Ramazanov) considered an appeal of the USSR Procurator General in which the question was considered of a change of sentence in the case of former managers in the "Dezintegrator" specialized design-and-technological bureau led by the director, Doctor of Technical Sciences I.A. Khint, who was sentenced in December 1983 by the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Court for embezzlement on a particularly large scale, including abuses of his official position and other crimes.

The agencies conducting the preliminary investigation laid charges of embezzlement of the sum of R1.14 million against Khint and other defendants. The court found them guilty on embezzling the sum of more than R860,000 and sentenced Khint to 15 years deprivation of liberty. The other defendants were also sentenced to long prison terms.

The case had been studied by members of all collegiums of the USSR Supreme Court in preparation for the session.

Carefully investigating the circumstances of the case the plenum heard from Khint's defending lawyer and a representative of the civil plaintiff, who stated that the "Dezintegrator" bureau had not suffered damages and had not brought suit. The representative of the civil plaintiff also reported that after Khint's arrest the profits of the cooperative fell sharply and were now only R1 million instead of the R8 million obtained previously. The plenum concluded that in deciding the question of the criminal liability of the defendants the investigating agencies and the court had ignored the legal status of the "Dezintegrator" bureau as a cooperative organization with broad economic independence operating under conditions of full cost accounting, self-financing and cost recovery. The unnecessary actions of a mercenary nature and other actions for personal interest by Khint and other persons, connected with the distribution of the product and the handling of money, done in the interests of the cooperative, do not constitute an action that is criminally liable. Their activity was monitored by the constituent organizations through their proxies. The other charges against Khint and a number of the other defendants were also found to be groundless.

The plenum (made up of 38 judges) unanimously adopted a decision on the posthumous rehabilitation of I.A. Khint (Khint died in prison in September 1985 while serving his term), and also on the full rehabilitation of Kh.Ya. Tyakhiste, Ya.A. Kyrdar and I.R. Ploom. Major changes were also made to the sentences passed on other persons.

The question was raised of rescinding under established procedure the decisions depriving I.A. Khint of an Order of the Labor Red Banner, his titles of Lenin Prize laureate and honored scientist of the Estonian SSR, and his testimonial from the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

A particular resolution addressed to the USSR Procurator General was introduced concerning violations of the law permitted during the course of the investigation of the case of a USSR Procuracy investigating team led by T.Kh. Gdylan.

A number of cases of embe ement, bribe-taking, account padding in state accountability reports, mugging and so forth dealt with recently by the courts were also reviewed. The plenum corrected errors in categorization of the findings and the determination of sentences in these cases.

A.Ya. Sukharev, USSR procurator general, and V.T. Gubarev, USSR deputy minister of justice, took part in the work of the plenum.

CPSU Rehabilitates 'Workers Opposition' Members

PM0805120789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Comission on the Study of Additional Material Connected With the Repressions During the Thirties, Forties, and Early Fifties"]

[Text] A scheduled session of the commission summarized the initial results of work done to rehabilitate legally and in party terms persons subjected to unjustified repressions.

As was pointed out, one important result of this work has been the comprehensive study of documents from legal proceedings and extrajudicial bodies in connection with the so-called cases of the "anti-Soviet, right-wing, Trotskiyist bloc," the "Leningrad affair," the "anti-Soviet, Trotskiyist military organization," the "parallel anti-Soviet, Trotskiyist center," the "anti-Soviet, united Trotskiy-Zinovyev center," the "Moscow center," the "union of Marxist-Leninists," the "Moscow Counterrevolutionary Organization—'Workers Opposition' group," and the "Jewish anti-fascist committee." A considerable number of prominent party, soviet, economic, and military personnel were implicated in these trials.

All these trials, it has now been established, were trumped up and conducted with the most flagrant violations of socialist legality. The people who had criminal charges brought against them as a result of far-fetched accusations of antistate and antiparty activity have been fully rehabilitated in legal terms. Many of these comrades have been restored to the CPSU. The question of the others' party membership is being discussed.

Preparations are almost complete for the Politburo commission to discuss material relating to the trials of the so-called "Leningrad counterrevolutionary Zinovyev group," the "Leningrad center," the "all-union Trotskyist center," the "Bukharin school," and the "Rykov school."

Having heard reports from B.K. Pugo, chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee; A.Ya. Sukharev, USSR general prosecutor; B.V. Kravtsov, USSR minister of justice; S.I. Gusev, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Court; and V.P. Pirozhkov, deputy chairman of the USSR KGB, the commission pointed out that the process of legal and party rehabilitation both in the center and at the local level is becoming increasingly systematic and finding approval and growing support from the public.

Law enforcement bodies have examined a considerable number of repression cases. The verdicts passed on most of them have been reviewed, and many Soviet people have had their good name and honor restored to them.

Those who have applied for rehabilitation include people who have committed serious crimes in the past. For example, people who betrayed their country, Nazi criminals, members of nationalist rebel formations and their accomplices, and people who have falsified evidence in criminal cases. The requests of these people have not been met.

The commission, together with party, soviet, and law enforcement bodies, has examined some 9,000 letters and petitions addressed to it. These appeals contain a considerable number of requests for legal and party rehabilitation, for the provision of fuller information about the circumstances in which innocent people died, and for assistance in finding archive documents, establishing places of burial, and restoring awards. A considerable proportion of these applications are for compensation, returning rehabilitated people to the places from where they were unlawfully exiled, and improving their housing conditions, pension security, and medical services.

A study of the mail has shown that citizens are not always aware of the privileges established by the government for rehabilitated victims of the repressions, which are granted by local bodies, and that in a number of cases they come up against callousness and bureaucracy, which forces them to appeal to higher authorities. The Politburo commission believes that the establishment of commissions under the supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics and kray, oblast, and city soviets of people's deputies for the purpose of assisting soviet bodies in safeguarding the rights and interests of rehabilitated people will largely help to eliminate the shortcomings noted.

Summing up the results of the work done, the commission indicated the need to further galvanize and improve the activity of law enforcement, soviet, and party bodies designed to restore justice and consistently implement the CPSU Central Committee resolution and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree of 16 January 1989 "On Additional Measures To Restore Justice to the Victims of the Repressions During the Thirties, Forties, and Early Fifties." It was stressed that a particularly careful, painstaking study of each specific case is required in this important work.

The commission also discussed the questions of enhancing the role played by the commissions established in oblast and kray soviets of people's deputies and the supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics, more broadly involving the public for the purpose of assisting soviet bodies in safeguarding the rights and interests of rehabilitated people, setting up memorials to the victims of the repressions, and properly maintaining the places where they are buried.

The commission heard information from the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee on the results of a discussion on the question of the party membership of people implicated in the so-called "Moscow Counterrevolutionary Organization—'Workers Opposition' group" case, who, as reported in the press, have been fully rehabilitated under the law.

The ideological platform of the so-called "Workers Opposition" group, which existed in the early twenties, was misplaced on a number of issues as well as being theoretically and practically untenable. The 10th Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress condemned the "Workers Opposition" views, regarding them as having a syndicalist, anarchist slant, which was subsequently overcome within the framework of party discussions.

At V.I. Lenin's suggestion, the members of the "Workers Opposition" were drawn into active political activity. A.G. Shlyapnikov was elected to the party's Central Committee at the 10th Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress. He headed a commission on improving workers' lives and became a member of the central commission for purging the party.

It is also well known that A.G. Shlyapnikov, S.P. Medvedev, and the majority of other members of the "Workers Opposition" subsequently dissociated themselves from their misplaced views. It has been established that they did not engage in the antiparty, antisoviet activity with which they were charged in the thirties. The so-called "Moscow Counterrevolutionary Organization—'Workers Opposition' group" did not even exist.

Taking this into account and also the full legal rehabilitation of A.G. Shlyapnikov, S.P. Medvedev, I.I. Nikolayenko, A.A. Tikhomirov, V.Ye. Tarasov, V.P. Demidov, and M.A. Vichinskiy, the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee restored them (posthumously) to CPSU membership. No grounds were found for restoring M.N. Ivanov to the party, because he was expelled from the party in 1932 for misdemeanors unconnected with the unsubstantiated political charges later brought against him.

S.I. Maslennikov, G.I. Bruno, M.F. Mikhaylov, M.I. Prokopenko, M.I. Dogadina, N.I. Ruzhitskaya, and Z.I. Akhmedova, all implicated in the above case, have already been restored to the party.

The commission took account of information from the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee.

The Politburo commission is continuing its work.

Scholar Presents Arguments Against Nuclear Power
PM1005094189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 May 89 pp 2-3

[Interview with Candidate of Legal Sciences Boris Aleksandrovich Kurkin, lecturer at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Higher Correspondence Law School, by V. Pantsyrev under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "Regarding the Sarcophagus"; date and place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] "Why did I, a lawyer, take up the problem of nuclear energy? Precisely because I am able to express myself relatively freely," said our interlocutor, Candidate of Juridical Sciences B. Kurkin, lecturer at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Higher Correspondence Law School. We know that specialists hold a different view. The editorial office is always ready to provide them with a platform and readers have an opportunity to ask them questions.

[Pantsyrev] Boris Aleksandrovich, you opened your most "fundamental" article "Letters of a Hostage," published in the March issue of DRUZHBA NARODOV, with an epigraph from Andrey Platonov's "The Foundation Pit":

" 'Has the proletariat the right to know the truth?'

" 'The proletariat has the right to progress...'"

What meaning do you see in these words uttered 60 years ago?

[Kurkin] The same meaning that Platonov did. The masses, in a spirit of democracy and glasnost, demand the truth. But some functionaries limit themselves to the slogans "develop," "expand," and "accelerate." It turns out that the satirical classic is not out of date. The following surely applies to construction workers on a crash hydraulic power project or to nuclear power workers: "Remaining silent is a full-time activity, an entire intellectual process, particularly if you have a practical result in mind." They remain silent and avoid open discussion by taking refuge behind a "For Official Use Only" stamp. But whom do the departments serve? Us. In other words no secrets should be kept from us.

I, for example, have been called every possible name both in print and orally: an incompetent dilettante, an ignoramus, and even an... anti-Sovietist. Yes, even in our time of restructuring! Just because I use Western sources of information, which are, by the way, completely official and come from our libraries. And where are you to obtain Soviet statistics on nuclear power if they are virtually all "classified"?

I am constantly amazed at the question why I, a lawyer, should have taken up this problem. The reason is that I do not work in the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation and I am able to express myself relatively freely. A "specialist" has to obtain the permission of his own department to write in the press. The system is, of course, able to gag any of "its own" people who disagrees with the stance of the department concerned.

In general the level of glasnost in the nuclear power industry is inadequate. Here is a typical example: In November 1986 the journal ATOMNAYA ENERGIYA published information on the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station [AES] prepared by the International Atomic Energy Authority [IAEA]. However, the full text of the IAEA report was not published. The facts and figures most "disagreeable" to our readers were removed.

[Pantsyrev] But even since Chernobyl the representatives of the nuclear power industry assure people at every step that such accidents are virtually ruled out and that during "normal" operation the background radiation around an AES does not exceed the natural background.

[Kurkin] With all the scientific information under their control, they can even state that the radiation around an AES is far lower than anywhere else... Representatives of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences told me that during the critical days of early May 1986, when the background radiation in the water of the Kiev Reservoir increased 100-fold, the USSR Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, and the State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control immediately increased the maximum permissible concentrations 100-fold and stated that everything was in line with the norms and that there were no grounds for alarm.

You will never discover what kind of situation there is around an AES. This has produced our mass nuclear illiteracy. We lack information and do not even have basic individual dosimeters...

No one knows the background radiation of "everyday" contamination. And yet there are unmarked burial sites containing radioactive waste from production, science, and medicine—various ampoules, flasks, gowns, and a host of other "contaminated" items—near virtually every major industrial center. People do not know about them. They cut grass nearby, graze livestock, relax in "the fresh air"... I once asked a deputy chairman of the Moscow City Soviet where the waste from research reactors is buried and how much of it there is in Moscow. His answer was terse: "I don't know." The representative of the authorities does not know, I and millions of other Muscovites still do not know...

The departmental cynicism is amazing. A. Protsenko, chairman of the State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy, said frankly: "The work of AES's, including shutdowns and **accidents** (my emphasis—B.K.) has provided and will provide invaluable experience enabling us to judge their reliability... and makes us find and introduce new technical solutions." L. Ilin, vice president of the Academy of Medical Sciences, is equally frank: "If you are talking about transferring AES's to sparsely populated locations, it is simply not economically viable."

[Pantsyrev] But maybe Soviet reactors are securely shielded in case of accidents? It is said that there are plans for special "domes" over them and that it is even possible to build reactors which, in the event of an accident, would collapse into deep tombs built underneath them. Do we have AES's of that kind?

[Kurkin] I doubt it. If such AES's existed the relevant departments would be sure to report these achievements.

Protective domes are constructed only over VVER-1000 [light water] reactors. And as tests at the Zaporozhye AES showed, their quality is not satisfactory. Reactors of the VVER-400, RBMK-1000 [high-power pressure tube], and RBMK-1500 type do not have such domes, new AES designs are necessary for their construction.

But look at the situation that has emerged in the Crimea! It is bad enough that the Crimea AES is being built on a geological fault in a zone prone to earthquakes of at least a force of 10. A mud volcano is biding its time directly underneath it. According to current normatives in the USSR, the seismicity of an AES construction region should not exceed force 8. Nevertheless, despite the protests of highly qualified specialists in the spheres of hydrology, seismology, and geological engineering, the construction of the Crimea AES is proceeding apace. When representatives of the Crimean public complained to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium they soon received a comforting reply. But it transpired that this telegram in the name of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was sent by... ordinary staffers of the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation! Incredible! However, what is even more incredible is that this deception did not have any repercussions! The USSR Prosecutor's Office referred the case back... to the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation.

[Pantsyrev] However, we know that independent U.S. specialists are going to be involved in the expert analysis of the construction of the Crimea AES.

[Kurkin] Forgive me, but I find it hard to imagine a situation in which questions affecting the U.S. nuclear power industry would be resolved by Soviet experts... Furthermore, according to the Americans' calculations, the accident at Three Mile Island will cost the United States $130 billion! Yet the scale of that accident bears no comparison with Chernobyl, which, according to the official figures, cost us R8.5 billion. Why such a vast discrepancy in the estimates of the damage?

[Pantsyrev] It is claimed that the new generation of reliable, durable reactors will solve all these problems.

[Kurkin] Anyone with more than an elementary education understands perfectly well that there cannot be any absolutely faultless technology. But that is not the point. It took a little under 30 years to get from the idea of creating an RBMK-type reactor to the first commercial model. Therefore we are going to have to spend at least 20 years boiling water in imperfect Chernobyl-type equipment before we achieve an "absolutely safe" reactor.

Design studies for a new helium-cooled reactor are being carried out in conjunction with the FRG. Incidentally, the West German public did not allow an experimental reactor to be built on the country's territory for safety reasons. You can guess what happened next: The State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy will carry out the construction on USSR territory... Why is our country being turned not only into a nuclear dumping ground but also a test bed for Western firms' experiments?

[Pantsyrev] Incidentally, what you said about a nuclear dumping ground reminded me of reports in our press that Western countries want to bury their nuclear waste a long way from home, primarily in Third World countries, in Africa. Journalists and scientists call this a crime against the populations of the developing countries. Yet we read that the State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy is proposing to Western countries that they bury waste on our territory. What is your view of that?

[Kurkin] Indeed, on 21 March 1985 the NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG wrote about proposals of that kind made by the State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy to our Austrian partners. Furthermore, the State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic

Energy asked 15-20 percent less in payment for this "service" than China had done. Not a word about these plans was published in the press here!

It is true that Academician N. Ponomarev-Stepnoy was forced to talk about a possible plan being studied for the return of spent fuel from West German nuclear power stations to the USSR. But apart from the academician it is well known that the USSR is already taking radioactive waste from the foreign nuclear power stations which it supplies with fuel.

H. Blix, director general of the IAEA, and a number of executives of our nuclear departments have been assuring us that radioactive waste creates no special problem. But in that case why do the Western countries not bury it in their own backyards rather than trying to "push" it further away? This can only mean one thing—that radioactive waste storage facilities are not all that safe.

This is by no means an idle question, since an accident at a liquid radioactive waste storage facility near Chelyabinsk in 1957 is often mentioned in the foreign press. M. Rosen, director of the IAEA Nuclear Installation Safety Department, spoke about this at the scientific conference held at the Ignalina AES last October. The fact of the disaster was also obliquely acknowledged by I. Kuzmin and N. Babayev, scientific staffers at the I.V. Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute, in their review of an article of mine. The disaster was also mentioned in an interview given by M. Umanets, director of the Chernobyl AES, on the "Vzglyad" program 7 April this year... It is time to tell the whole truth about this very old story.

[Pantsyrev] However, over the next 30 years or more a new technology for the burial and reprocessing of radioactive waste in special plants could appear.

[Kurkin] The problem of burying radioactive waste has not been solved anywhere in the world. We can only talk of future technologies. It is not clear how the sodium silicate solution in which the radioactive waste is placed or the actual geological formations in which it is buried will behave. After all, reliability has to be ensured for millions of years! Moreover, the activity of Soviet plants reprocessing radioactive waste is kept strictly secret. Accidents are not uncommon abroad, as far as I am aware.

It is said that the USSR is ready to accept from foreign AES's not radioactive waste but spent fuel. That is said to be quite a different matter and practically safe. Alas, so-called fission fragments of, in particular, cesium, strontium, and so forth accumulate in the spent fuel during the process of the nuclear reaction. They pose a dreadful danger to human life. Moreover, plutonium, uranium that does not take part in nuclear reaction, and radioactive waste proper are released during the reprocessing of spent fuel. That is the whole truth about the danger of "spent fuel." The specialists know this, of course, but...

[Pantsyrev] How much spent nuclear fuel is being returned to the USSR?

[Kurkin] According to official data, we take spent fuel from the CEMA countries and Finland. Twenty-two VVER-440 reactors, each using 14 tonnes of nuclear fuel annually, are operating in those countries. A tonne of burned fuel produces around 30 kg of radioactive fragments such as were released during the Chernobyl accident. (There, according to official statistics, there were "only" 63 kilos of them.) It is not difficult to calculate that more than 9 tonnes of spent fuel are returned to our country each year. Then there is our own waste!

[Pantsyrev] People continue to try to convince us of the cheapness and environmental safety of nuclear power...

[Kurkin] Specialists of the IAEA and the European Nuclear Energy Agency [ENEA] report that about 200,000 tonnes of uranium will have been stockpiled on earth by the year 2000 and that it will be possible to reprocess only one-fourth of that quantity. And the reprocessing and burial of waste constitute around 75 percent of the cost of the whole fuel cycle. The billions of dollars are not included in the cost of AES-generated power by our departmental statistics. It is not cheap to construct AES's themselves and their satellite cities and dismantling is equally costly. The sites on which the stations stood cannot be used either for farming or for other construction.

An AES's lifetime is not long: 25-30 years, that is, given ideal quality of construction and installation. However, the zirconium tubes in the reactor core of our "model" Leningrad AES named for V.I. Lenin have buckled after just 15 years in service. And what is to be done with the Rovno AES, which is subsiding on its karst foundations? Incidentally, the construction of an AES consumes up to 20 percent of the energy which it will generate over its lifetime. In other words, every 25-30 years our country has to repeat a truly ruinous program of constructing and dismantling dozens of AES's! So you can judge for yourself whether such energy generation can be described as cheap.

[Pantsyrev] But what is to be done, after all, there is believed to be no alternative to nuclear power?

[Kurkin] Nevertheless, let us see how much energy we really need. Alas, we do not know. The problem is that we produce according to the wasteful cost-based principle. Our energy-intensiveness per unit of output, according to some estimates, is twice and, according to other estimates, five times what it is in the United States. So we will never have enough energy!

The nuclear power industry now generates around 12 percent of all the country's power, which is far less than we lose through our own wastefulness. Is it not better to learn how to manage more economically and finally introduce long-developed energy-saving technologies.

When, however, representatives of the Academy of Science say that "we cannot do without AES's," it means that they are unwittingly validating and reinforcing the cost-based economic mechanism.

If you look at the EC countries' energy program, published in the journal ATOMNAYA TEKHNIKA ZA RUBEZHOM, you will be simply amazed how large the energy supply reserves turn out to be. At how efficiently the energy of the wind, small hydroelectric power stations, and so forth can be utilized. The Soviet Union's wind power potential is 20 times higher than electricity generation in 1977!

In our country, however, one department "scores points" off another. Nuclear power workers say that the hydroelectric power industry workers have flooded the whole country, so let's increase AES construction. The hydroelectric power workers maintain, for their part, that since nuclear power is harmful and dangerous, let us develop hydroelectric stations. And both departments "develop"...

[Pantsyrev] The "peaceful" use of the atom has not proven all that peaceful in fact. And the problems of nuclear power affect the vital interests of literally everyone. In other words, a nationwide referendum on the energy program is essential.

[Kurkin] I consider that mandatory. Society is entitled to know the risk it runs when it puts its cash and its life into the hands of the nuclear power departments.

Military To Transport Civilian Goods Nationwide

LD0805205289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 8 May 89

[Interview with Vladislav Vasiliyevich Yefanov, Military Transport Aviation commander, by unidentified correspondent; from the "Vremya" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Vladislav Vasilyevich, a USSR Council of Ministers decision has been adopted on the transport of national economic freight by Defense Ministry planes. How do you view this decision and how does the staff of the Military Transport Aviation perceive it?

[V.V. Yefanov] First, the decision was adopted at the suggestion of the USSR Defense Ministry. It represents the practical implementation of the directives of Soviet military doctrine. This is the real involvement of both military equipment and military specialists in solving tasks in the interests of the national economy and the satisfaction, the fullest possible satisfaction of the needs and requirements of the Soviet people.

The decision of the Soviet Government has been perceived with deep understanding and enthusiasm by the whole staff of the Military Transport Aviation. We have everything needed for this: reliable equipment, trained specialists, and sufficient experience. We have now begun to implement the decision of the Soviet Government and an independent air transport system is being set up to transport freight in the interests of the national economy. Several flights have already been made to supply fruit and vegetables from Azerbaijan and the Crimea to rayons of the North and Yakutiya.

[Correspondent] Vladislav Vasilyevich, what is the advantage of using military transport planes rather than planes from the civil aviation fleet?

[Yefanov] The Military Transport Aviation has a fleet of freight planes that can travel long distances and they have a variety of carrying capacities. And it has the biggest plane in the world, the AN-124, the Ruslan. This makes it possible to deliver a large volume of products rapidly to various regions of the country. If necessary, the Military Transport Aviation can concentrate its efforts, providing not 1, 2 or 3 planes, but, say, 10, or, if needs be, more.

[Correspondent] Yes, this is very good and evidently many organizations and enterprises will be interested in this. So where in fact do they need to apply to order a plane to transport some particular freight?

[Yefanov] The procedure for arranging transportation has been made as simple as possible. All matters are dealt with at the administration of the Military Transport Aviation. One should apply to the administration of the Military Transport Aviation in Moscow by telephone: 269 93 58, or by telex (?kinzhal) 113698. The postal address is: Moscow K160.

[Correspondent] How is payment for this transportation to be made?

[Yefanov] Payment for transportation will be according to the tariffs of the Ministry of Civil Aviation. There is a preferential tariff on the transportation of fruits and vegetables.

[Correspondent] We are meeting on the eve of a great celebration, Victory Day.

[Yefanov] On this celebration, the common bright celebration of the Soviet people, we must remember something else as well. While carrying out tasks in the interests of the national economy we must not lower the combat readiness of our units. We will constantly be engaged in ensuring this.

Ethnic Finns in Soviet Union Set Out Demands

LD0305103389 Helsinki International Service in English 0830 GMT 3 May 89

[Excerpts] An international meeting of ethnic Finns in the Soviet Union took place in Tallinn, the capital of Soviet Estonia, over the weekend. These ethnic Finns,

known as Ingrians on the basis of their traditional home area in the USSR, presented several demands for improving their position. Under current Soviet reform policy the Ingrians have been able to establish associations and receive major economic and cultural aid from Finland. The meeting demanded that all Ingrians should be allowed to return to their home area. Taking part in the meeting in Tallinn were also representatives of Ingrians living in Finland and Sweden. This report:

[Reporter] The Ingrians are ethnic Finns who lived around the former Russian capital of St Petersburg. These people suffered greatly from the terror of the Stalin era, and by World War II their cultural life had been destroyed and educated people deported. [passage omitted]

The meeting in Tallinn this past weekend was the first gathering of Ingrians from different parts of the world. The meeting presented a strong list of demands to the government of the USSR. The Ingrians should be allowed to move to their original home area from other parts of the USSR, and economic assistance should be given to that end. The Ingrians also called for their cultural autonomy to be restored, and they want to be guaranteed the rights given in the Soviet Union to minority nationalities. The Ingrians have also demanded that teaching should be available in Finnish in schools. Another demand is that Finland would stop insisting that Ingrians have entry visas. Under the current system all Soviet citizens must have visa clearance before entering Finland.

World Health Experts Interviewed on Ukraine Disease
LD2804040389 Moscow TASS in English 1616 GMT 28 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—The mysterious disease of children from Chernovtsy has been caused by biological or chemical rather than physical factors, World Health Organization [WHO] experts who have visited the Ukrainian city said in an interview with the government newspaper IZVESTIYA, published today.

The experts, Bartold Sankser and Gerard De Groot, work at the National Institute for Health Care and Environmental Protection in the Netherlands.

The unknown illness that left dozens of Chernovstsy children hairless in November last year is racking doctors' brains. To unravel the mystery, the Soviet Health Ministry invited independent WHO experts.

De Groot, a toxicologist, ruled out thallium poisoning which was mentioned as a possible cause of the disease by many Soviet physicians.

Professor Sankser observed that "with the available information it is impossible to draw final conclusions. It is either an unknown infectious disease or a chemical intoxication.

"To determine the cause, one should have conducted a number of tests in the early stages of the disease and thoroughly studied respiratory ducts and eyes."

He stated that they did not blame the Soviet colleagues for failing to do that as it was impossible to foresee everything.

"Together with Soviet specialists we are going to continue tests in close contact with one another," he said.

According to the experts, the children are in a fair condition. They expressed hope that the affected kids will have no problem in the future.

Ukraine Radio Begins Broadcasts To Moscow
18000936 Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Mar 89 p 3

[Report by the Radio and Telegraph Agency of the Ukraine: "'Promin' Is Heard in Moscow"]

[Text] On the morning of 14 March, many Muscovites could hear the voice of an announcer of the Ukrainian Radio in the short-wave band for the first time.

"From now on, the citizens and guests of our country's capital will be able to tune in and listen to the second newscast and musical program "Promin" daily without interference. This is due to one of the transmitters of the so-called radio countermeasures beginning to be used for relaying the "Promin" program to Moscow. Previously, these transmitters were used to jam foreign radio stations. Their line of work has changed entirely," said L. A. Datsenko, deputy director of the Programming Directorate of Ukrainian Radio, to a RATAU [Radio and Telegraph Agency of the Ukraine] correspondent.

Relaying "Promin" to Moscow is done primarily because of the need of our fellow citizens living in the Soviet capital to receive the most up-to-date information on the sociopolitical, socioeconomic, and cultural life in the Soviet Ukraine. Due to revolutionary changes signifying the course of restructuring, a vigorous national renaissance is happening everywhere in our country. As is known, the Society of Admirers of Ukrainian Culture "Slavutich" has been created in Moscow. Preparations are under way for opening the Ukrainian Theatre of Musical Drama. It is envisaged to set up a folk song and dance group, a bandura players company, school departments of the Ukrainian language, and so forth. This is why I believe that the information and musical program of the Ukrainian Radio, which may be received on Moscow airwaves from 6:00 a.m. to 1:00 a.m. on the 31- and 49-meter bands, will render a good service to our fellow citizens, to all admirers of Ukrainian literature and culture.

It should be mentioned, observed the deputy director of the Programming Directorate of the Ukrainian Radio, that, along with broadcasts from the Ukraine, radio

programs in the national languages from Belorussia, Moldavia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia are relayed. Beginning 21 March, broadcasts from the republics of Transcaucasia will begin, and at the end of the month, from Central Asia.

Responding to the questions on whether Ukrainian radio programs can be heard, in addition to Moscow, also in the areas of our country where migrants from the Ukraine live in clusters, L. A. Datsenko stated that the issue of providing the technical potential for relaying the programs of Ukrainian Radio beyond the boundaries of the republic is now being considered. There is a need for that, as demonstrated by numerous letters received from the residents of the Far East, Siberia, the Urals, Kuban, Stavropol Kray, and other regions. Let us hope that we will be successful in this important endeavor. After all, at issue is the reinforcement of interethnic links in our country.

We are already taking this feature into account in producing some programs for local broadcasting. For example, radio broadcasts in Bulgarian are heard regularly in the Izmailskiy Rayon of Odessa Oblast. In some rayons of Donetsk Oblast, broadcasts in Greek have begun, and in Mariupol—in the Greek and Tatar languages. Not only Ukrainian folk songs, but also the folklore songs of many other nationalities, the members of which live in our republic, are now heard on the musical program of the republic broadcast "Zoloty Klyuchy."

Finally, starting 3 April, the first channel of the All-Union Radio will carry daily the information and commentary program "Radio Station 'Union,'" which will report on the life of the peoples of the USSR and contacts between fraternal republics, krays, and oblasts. It will begin at 12:00 p.m. and last 30 minutes, and on weekends, a whole hour.

Publication of Weekly Guide to Moscow Revived
PM0105093989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 3

[L. Ivchenko article: "Everything You Ever Wanted to Know About Moscow"]

[Excerpt] The information weekly VSYA MOSKVA, which was issued back at the end of the last century by the well-known publisher A. Suvorin, is going to be published again.

VSYA MOSKVA was a directory containing information on streets, monuments, and sights in the city, information on departments and services, addresses and telephone numbers of residents, and advertising. Now these weighty tomes are a bibliographical rarity. After the revolution VSYA MOSKVA was published from 1925 through 1936, at which point it went out of existence—the directory's printing press was destroyed in 1937.

Now, after half a century, the MOSKOVSKIY RABOCHIY publishing house is reviving a tradition. [passage omitted]

New Series of Historical Books Begins Publication
LD3004142189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 30 Apr 89

[Summary] The first books have been brought in the new series "Time and Destinies." These publications will become a distinctive collection of evidence about the past, and about events which do not lie all that far back in the past, but which were concealed and were almost not covered by our historians and our men of letters. The series, which is being brought out by the Kniga publishing house, was opened with the memoirs of Yakov Rapaport, entitled "On the Boundary of Eras", a story about the 1953 doctors case.

Reader Supports Caretakers' Rights to Apartments
LD2804132589 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 4 Mar 89 p 2

[Reader's Letter from H. Lukoseviciene of Mazeikiai, entitled "Laws Need Improvement."]

[Text] I am an old, sickly and lonely woman. Life has treated me in a way which left me neither children nor relatives. My strength is ebbing away. I live in a communal, two-room apartment—that is all I have. There is no room available in an old people's home. Besides, people don't go to those homes of their own free will, but only in despair when they receive no help from others.

According to Article 68 of the current Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Apartment Code, "individuals residing with a renter in the renter's place of residence, as helpers or care providers, do not acquire an individual right to take up residence in the said premises. In cases where this residence is not designated by law for the helper or care provider, at the conclusion of their tenure as such they are legally evicted, without provision for another place to live."

Will a stranger take care of you, knowing you have nothing and also realizing the apartment will not be his, either? It seems to me the law should be improved. Then we could find people willing to take care of us and help us. We cannot take these apartments to our graves; they could be left to decent, compassionate people, who have no apartment right now, but would have one after our death. This would not cost anything to the state, while we, old and lonely people, could remain in our own homes, knowing we have someone to take care of us and bury us. [Signed] H. Lukoseviciene

Economic

Chairman of Nuclear Safety Committee Interviewed

PM0905110189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
6 May 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with V.M. Malyshev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Supervision of Safe Working Practices in the Atomic Power Industry, by correspondent A. Illesh: "Nuclear Electric Power Stations Without Secrets"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] In the unabating polemic between the opponents and supporters of the development of nuclear power engineering, opinions have recently been frequently voiced regarding the need to give the public objective information about the state of nuclear power stations. IZVESTIYA has devoted many items to the problem of "secrecy" and the departmental instructions which restrict our knowledge of nuclear electric power stations [AES's]. It seems that openness here would also have positive influence on people's attitude toward the development of nuclear power engineering.

[Illesh] Vadim Mikhaylovich, I can understand the position of the ministries and departments which do not want to make public their imperfections, but why does a supervisory organ not provide this information? Especially because in the press you have also expressed yourself unambiguously in favor of glasnost in safety matters. That means that there is still some secrecy, is that not so?—that was the question which opened our correspondent's talk with V.M. Malyshev, chairman of the State Committee for the Supervision of Safe Working Practices in the Atomic Power Industry.

[Malyshev] First, I confirm my position: There should be glasnost. If nuclear power stations are constructed to increase people's well-being, then there is nothing to hide from people! According to our information, the ministries taking part in the development of nuclear power engineering are beginning to publish information on the work of nuclear power stations. The relevant information and assessment of various questions of safety by the state supervisory organ will also be published by our committee.

[Illesh] This can be called a step of openness and glasnost. Yet nonetheless so far people are only talking about it. But tell me: Could you provide information right now about the work of our AES's?

[Malyshev] Certainly. For instance, in March this year 44 power units were commissioned and there were eight unplanned stoppages of power units. There were no violations of safety requirements.

[Illesh] But are you not worried that the information of which kind which is constantly published could give rise to a negative reaction?

[Malyshev] No, I am not worried. First, you must tell any truth as it is. The degree to which society is prepared to accept it is another matter—here, I shall be frank, we still have work to do so that people understand this information correctly and draw normal conclusions from it.

For instance, how to understand the eight unplanned stoppages at AES's in 1 month? Is that a lot or not? In annual terms that is approximately two stoppages a year per power unit. In the developed capitalist countries which use nuclear power that indicator is between two and four. Incidentally, 3 years ago this figure in our country was between five and six stoppages a year but now there is in our view a steady trend toward its reduction. Approximately one-fourth to one-third of all unplanned stoppages occur through the fault of personnel both in our country and "over there."

I want to clear up one further point. Unplanned stoppages while naturally undesirable, are nonetheless a routine situation and come within the concept of normal operation on condition, of course, that the limits and conditions of safe operation have not been violated.

[Illesh] IZVESTIYA has often written of the stormy discussions of problems of nuclear power in the places where it is planned to construct AES's. What is your attitude toward the public opinion poll?

[Malyshev] Positive. But on condition that those taking part in the poll have a clear idea of the essence of the matters and are able to assess the consequences.

Today, in my view, the public opinion poll will not reflect an objective assessment of nuclear power. After all, at present it is emotions and by no means sober calculation or knowledge which dominate the basis of people's attitude toward it. Look at the paradox! Take 100 people on the street, in the movie theater, at a stadium or enterprise, and ask them: Who is in favor of banning, for instance, private transport? I guarantee you will only find a few who are in favor. Ask: Who is in favor of banning nuclear power? I am sure that considerably more than half will be. Well, let's stop all nuclear power. People can imagine what abandoning private transport would mean. But the majority do not know that each of us is over 100 times more likely to die under the wheels of an automobile than from nuclear power.

And almost all of them are unaware that to renounce nuclear energy would delay for a long time the solution of food and industrial supplies for the population and would increase the growth of disease and death from the deterioration of the ecology.

[Illesh] Good, that is the position of people with little knowledge. But why do some scientists, economists, and writers suggest closing the barrier to AES's?

[Malyshev] I think that today it is easy to become popular by eloquently criticizing nuclear power and knowing that you will not have to answer for it. Debate is possible and necessary. But actions are also necessary.

I am sure that in the situation which has taken shape we must instruct a group of scientists and economists (who do not accept AES's), having relieved them of other duties, to carry out an analysis of the country's economic development under conditions where there would be no nuclear power. To carry out the work the relevant institutes should be subordinated to them for the duration.

Then these scientists would know that our people's fate will depend on their conclusions and objective results. They will understand the epithets with which their names will go down in the annals of history. And on the basis of the results obtained return yet again to the solution of the problem of whether or not there is to be nuclear power in the USSR.

Our committee, called on to defend people's right to a safe life in favorable ecological conditions, is also interested in an unbiased, objective assessment of the pluses and minuses of nuclear power, while not accepting that "pluses" for some people may result in "minuses" for others. If we decide to do something, it should be for the benefit of all.

And now we offer readers the first summary of events which have taken place in nuclear power engineering over the past month. The editorial office intends to publish these figures constantly.

In April this year there were 44 power units in operations and there were 9 unplanned stoppages of power units, including one at the Rovno AES, two at the Kola AES, one at the Chernobyl AES, one at the Khmelnitskiy AES, and four at the Balakovo AES. They included six caused by personnel, two because of the breakdown of equipment, and one because of the imperfection of planning solutions. There were no violations of safety requirements. The indicators for the radiation situation at the AES's and in the monitored zones remain unchanged and do not exceed the set norms. There were no cases of the overirradiation of personnel.

Chemical Industry Modernization Plans Discussed

PM0905161589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with V.R. Khalilov, first deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry's Main Technological Administration for Chlorine, by V. Ivanitskiy: "Peaceful Chlorine: Chemists Seeking New Forms of Work"; date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] V.R. Khalilov, first deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry's Main Technological Administration for Chlorine, visited the editorial office to discuss the recently strained relations between the public and the chemical industry and to explain possible solutions to this difficult situation. The meeting took place right after his return from Lesogorskiy in Leningrad Oblast, where the ministry has had problems with the opening of a new chemical production unit.

[Ivanitskiy] What was the outcome of your trip, Vener Ramazanovich?

[Khalilov] None yet. It was to do with a formic acid factory. It had been bought from a West German firm and was environmentally clean and did not discharge substances into the atmosphere or water. But unfortunately the residents of Lesogorskiy and, in particular, neighboring Svetogorsk, which already has a pulp and paper combine, were highly distrustful of our proposal: We do not need the chemical industry, it is better not to take the chance.

[Ivanitskiy] There is nothing surprising in that, I think. Chemical enterprises have become almost the personification of the evils of industrialization. The ecological problems of the environment are to a large extent linked with them.

[Khalilov] I do not think that people are opposed to the chemical industry, they are angry primarily at the fact that its enterprises often poison everything around them. Nevertheless, no matter how difficult it is today, we must understand that you cannot ban the existing chemical industry, even with its imperfect equipment, overnight. Machine building, the power industry, information technology, and the construction industry would not be able to develop without it. It has long been the case throughout the world that the level of a nation's prosperity has been largely determined—do not be surprised at this!—by the per capita production of chlorine, caustic soda, soda ash, ammonia, and sulfuric acid. And we lag 3 to 3.5 times behind the FRG, the United States, and Japan in some of those products.

[Ivanitskiy] But if we compare the levels of our water, soil, and air pollution we immediately forge ahead, don't we?

[Khalilov] It is hard to argue with that. Of course, the further development of the chemical industry is inconceivable without modernizing the old production units and creating new, environmentally friendly ones. But the matter hinges on our potential. Take the chlorine industry, for example. In the last 10-15 years it has begun to lag significantly behind the needs of the national economy and imports have increased sharply. The purchase of caustic soda alone costs $40 million-$60 million a year and in the next 5-Year Plan that figure may rise to $100 million-$110 million unless resolute measures are taken. Such measures are proposed by the "Kaustik" program in particular. The aim of the plan is to eliminate the caustic soda shortage by 1995. That is supposed to be a common task, but 24 of the 28 departments which are

due to take part do not accept the program. Of the 840,000 tonnes of caustic soda production capacity envisaged by the current 5-Year Plan we will commission at best about 300,000 tonnes.

It is the same story with the new generation of electrolyzers. On the government's instruction a program has been prepared to produce some prototypes. But 2 years have already been wasted for which the Ural heavy chemical machinery plant, which is responsible for the job, is to blame. Our own efforts are simply not enough to cope with all this, especially because after several so-called reorganizations the subsector has been split into five (!) departments. To be honest, the Main Technological Administration for Chlorine, created within the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry, now has virtually no effective means of increasing the economic and environmental efficiency of enterprises.

[Ivanitskiy] But does the national economy need so much soda and chlorine? Surely it is appropriate to institute economies and replace them by other products whenever possible, isn't it?

[Khalilov] Yes, that is one solution, but it is not the key one. Of course, it must be said frankly that some caustic soda is lost through poor storage and in transit. Nevertheless, even the amount saved would not meet all our requirements. Chlorine is firmly established in daily life. Take just one product, PVC, which is the basis for manufacturing linoleum, synthetic leather, and various types of film, including for food wrappers. And construction products—what about window frames and doors, other construction materials, and sewage pipes? The use of chlorine for disinfecting water is not going to diminish. Generally speaking the demand for chlorine products is going to increase given the colossal tasks facing the national economy and the construction industry. We now produce around 700,000 tonnes of PVC whereas the USSR State Planning Commission's control figures speak of 2.3 million tonnes as early as 1995. In view of the state of the sector today that volume is of course beyond its capacity.

[Ivanitskiy] Indeed, it is a vicious circle. But how is it to be broken gently without overwhelming our cities with gas?

[Khalilov] I think that first there must be measures to ensure the prompt, full scale, and comprehensive facilitation of the production of chlorine and its by-products regardless of departmental jurisdiction or territorial location. Our plans include a firm, an association which will be able to take on the retooling and modernization of enterprises, providing them with equipment, design studies, and much else. Only then will it be possible to increase output and ensure that production is perfect from the environmental viewpoint. Calculations show that if we create such an association now, by 1995 the chlorine industry will be able to really secure greater progress and ensure that our enterprises reach the necessary standard. The association model consists of three stages: the research stage, the design stage, and the stage involving equipment, construction, installation, and the construction industry. The point of departure is conditions in the world market. The think tank here will be our own scientific research institutes, which we would transform into engineering centers.

[Ivanitskiy] But won't you still need extra construction capacities and machines for retooling?

[Khalilov] There is such an organization, the "Khimtekhperevooruzheniye," which is employed mainly on capital repair work. We want to include five of its trusts in the association and found a construction base on them. Enterprises themselves have capacities: construction and assembly sections, management, shops. No one is going to stop them being hired on a contractual basis for the retooling of their own plant. We intend to employ the West German firm Ude [name as transliterated] to provide the equipment that is lacking.

But the association's main job is to establish a single technical policy for the retooling of the subsector using all the potential offered by the radical economic reform. The idea of the firm is supported by specialists at the ministry and leaders of enterprises.

[Ivanitskiy] Now for a delicate question: that of cooperation with foreign firms. Is this not a matter of bowing to fashion? Is it always justified?

[Khalilov] It is justified when it benefits both sides and not just the one who needs raw materials and a cheap workforce. In general it must be said that sometimes foreign firms, also putting it delicately, are not averse to inflating the price. After all, we are poor businessmen and that's the main problem.

A great fuss is being made right now about the creation of enormous joint chemical enterprises in Tyumen Oblast. I am loyal to my sector but I do not like this plan. Should a number of enormous enterprises be concentrated in a single oblast? After all, we do not have a clear idea of how they behave in the northern conditions of Tyumen Oblast, particularly those built on "unstable" frozen ground. Everything must be calculated a thousand times over here before embarking on yet another "construction project of the century." I personally think that we should move away from huge monopolies to small and medium enterprises which are flexible and competitive.

In our case cooperation with Ude, a reliable partner with a good track record, incidentally, will be used to improve certain design studies and plans and to provide equipment in short supply.

[Ivanitskiy] You are fervently opposed to monopolies yet you yourself are going to concentrate all the construction, installation, and scientific capacities and forces of the subsector in a single firm. How much will modernization cost the enterprise?

[Khalilov] But how much does it cost today? Instead of the planned 3 years, it takes us about 10-12 years to retool. Before the outcome is known the world will move on, the equipment will become outdated, and some of it will be taken out of service. In our case the labor collective council will have to sign a contract with the association—and that is all. If we fail to keep to schedule we will pay the collective a fine. We intend to work mainly according to state prices. As for monopolies, like any businessman I can say honestly that I do not particularly relish competition. This is a matter of a state regulation. Let ministries, the USSR State Committee for Construction, and cooperative organizations compete with us. Who is stopping them from organizing associations, like ours, in the chemical and timber complex? Then in a few years' time we will go looking for work and not vice versa.... The situation is such that if an opportunity arises to establish order in the subsector by organizational measures alone and without entailing particular material costs it would be a sin not take advantage of it. After all, we can hardly breathe the air as it is and still the stores are empty.

Prospects of Leningrad Free Economic Zone Viewed

18250152 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 3 May 89 p 3

[Article by M. Butkov: "'Silicon Valley' Near Leningrad?"]

[Text] **The experience accumulated in restructuring Soviet foreign economic ties shows that "to cut a window to Europe" is far from being as simple as it seemed to us at first: They said, just give us permission and the businessmen will come flocking of their own accord. They are not doing this.**

Serious incentives and long-term prospects are needed. In order to find these incentives a trip through the northern countries—Norway, Sweden, and Finland—was taken by a representative group of Soviet experts who were studying the matter of free economic zones and particularly the first experimental zone of this kind in Leningrad Oblast.

"The concept is still in the developmental stage," says the group leader, deputy chief of the administration for international economic relations of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MID] S. Lavrov. "Our goal is to study thoroughly at an expert level all the possibilities associated with such zones and to submit recommendations to the Soviet government. To do this we shall hold consultations with potential partners—our northern neighbors. We want to learn what they think of this. Of course such a zone should be open to any companies, regardless of their national origins."

And so what are the features of the SEZ [special economic zone] that have emerged on the drawing board? It is possible to transform 250 square kilometers on the Soviet-Finnish border just adjacent to Vyborg into a flourishing economic region with a highly developed infrastructure and a high standard of living. And only science-intensive and ecologically pure production is to be located here.

Skeptics might object that not very much is happening with this kind of production at joint enterprises. This is true, but the plan for the Leningrad zone is remarkable in that it envisions the creation of productions on the basis of unique Soviet developments that have no analogs in the world.

The lists, which include about 100 of these developments, have been turned over to the potential partners. They include everything—from machine tools and medical equipment to the gastric juices of snails to antifungal socks. Cooperation with Western firms will make it possible to finance the plans and turn the ideas into goods. Unfortunately, we ourselves have lost the secret of this "magic wand."

"Does this not mean that our developments will simply swim away over the border?" I asked S. Lavrov.

"Nothing of the kind. We shall be able to reduce the time spent on their introduction, provide for high quality and cost recovery of production, and sell the products on the starving domestic Soviet market. And in the second place it is much more advantageous to sell readymade, competitive items abroad at a good price than to lose millions on trade in patents. After all, are the Japanese developing their technology by selling Sharp tape recorders?"

A group from Leningrad Oblast began to work on the plan for the SEZ. They are relying on the city's large production and scientific potential. Last year 60 percent of the oblast's overall exports amounting to R1 billion were prepared products.

"We have asked the local scientific research institutes and enterprises interested in the SEZ to give us their ideas," said Yu. Yarov, deputy chairman of the Leningrad Oblast soviet executive committee [oblispolkom]. "The result was a list which we turned over to our northern neighbors. And they are quickly augmenting it. It is suggested that we create near Leningrad a 'technological village'—a kind of domestic variant of the American 'Silicon Valley.' From this 'boiler' ideas will be sent to the SEZ and they will be realized with the help of the most advanced technology."

Of course the SEZ still has more problems than solutions. The Norwegians, Swedes, and Finns are interested in how they can guarantee their capital investments, what kind of currency will be used in the zone, and how stable the position of the foreign firms will be. Will it be necessary either to determine or create a new, special convertible currency for the SEZ or to make better use of the combination of the ruble and one of the hard currencies? How will we pay for the labor of Soviet citizens working at enterprises of the zone? It is important for social justice not to be sacrificed but there is no room for wage leveling in the SEZ.

If the zone becomes a reality in the near future—one would like to hope, under the next 5-Year Plan—we shall see a unique kind of corridor between the Western and Soviet markets. This will be a financially autonomous testing ground for advanced technological and economic ideas, controlled by its own administration within the framework of flexible union legislation. And the economic activity will obviously be regulated by a special joint company. And it will be rid of any kind of intervention from ministries and departments not in words but in deed.

The attractiveness of the SEZ for foreign companies—Western and those from socialist countries—consists mainly in the customs, tax, and other benefits, and not at all in the cheap work force. The people with whom I spoke assured me that they would hire no more Soviet people than their own foreign colleagues. And after investigating foreign experiences with SEZ's (and there are more than 400 of them in the world, not only in China and the developing countries but also in the United States) our experts immediately dismissed everything related to "colonialism," a 12-hour work day, and child labor.

Many details still have to be worked out. It is clear that the conditions of the SEZ should be favorable for joint enterprises. There were 16 Norwegian firms participating in the first round of negotiations in Oslo.

"The concept of the SEZ is the most interesting plan for our entrepreneurs," I was told by T. Hess, the chief of the economic administration of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "The companies are waiting for detailed information from us about all aspects of the activity of the SEZ and its legislative support. If we manage to solve the entire complex of problems, and above all the currency problem, the zone can become a good jumping-off place for real business in the Soviet Union."

Problem of Consumer Shortages Persists

18270091 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 27 Apr 89 p 1

[Article by L. Biryukova: "Loosening the Grip of Shortages"]

[Text] **Yesterday the USSR Council of Ministers at its meeting chaired by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov considered in particular the matter of immediate measures for increasing the production of nonfood consumer goods. Leaders of the leading branches of the national economy participated in the discussion.**

Each of us can understand the attention the government is paying to this problem. Our consumer market, which is going through difficult times, needs emergency, immediate assistance.

Our consumer has ended up in a degrading, pathetic role today. Each day the reader mail brings letters from people who are depressed about the lack of the necessary goods for sale. They all ask: Will this "shortage" last long?

"Our old washing machine broke down," writes the pensioner A. Voropayev from Novosibirsk. "And neither I nor my wife has the strength to wash by hand. These machines were available in the stores a couple of years ago and one could buy them, but now there is no trace of them. I was advised to go to the city soviet executive committee [gorispolkom] and sign up on the list from which war veterans are given preference. But judging from where my place would be on it, I do not know whether I shall live long enough to buy it...."

Can one read these lines calmly?

The branches of industry, accused of aggravating the current shortages, blame the fact that quite unexpectedly they were "swamped" by stirred-up demand with which they are incapable of coping. It is being suggested that people are hoarding many goods. But you will agree that is difficult to imagine a family laying in supplies of washing machines, vacuum cleaners, and color television sets. Allow me to question the unexpectedness as well. What is unexpected about the fact that during the course of the economic reform and the development of economic accountability and leasing relations, many workers' earnings increased? Nor is there anything unpredictable in the fact that along with noncash accounts many enterprises and especially cooperatives began to use "live" money. Our economic science, "comrade scholars, docents, and candidates" could and should have anticipated all this. Industry should have prepared for this. But no, they did not anticipate it and did not prepare for it.

The money poured into the consumer goods market and ripped it apart from within. What we see today on the shelves of the stores are "scraps" of the previous assortment which was skimpy to begin with.

Today the society understands the fruits of this inability to calculate even the most immediate consequences of the economic transformations we have earmarked. The aggravated shortage became the reason for the accumulation of strong negative emotions in the people and it generated a large amount of social tension which, of course, does not work to the advantage of restructuring.

There is no longer any need to prove to anyone that it is possible to rectify the situation in the consumer market through the efforts of all of industry as a whole and not just those branches that specialize in the production of goods. Obviously, many of the "nonspecialized" enterprises have had to get by on a shoe string in this situation, not burdening themselves either with a study of the demand or with concerns about the quality of their products. On the agenda today is the creation of large sections and shops where metallurgists, machine builders, instrument builders, and simply builders, defense workers, timber procurement workers, chemists, and transportation workers can produce goods at a professional level. With the enlistment of technologists, planners, and designers from the corresponding branch scientific research institutes and advertising specialists. Such is the requirement of life, which corresponds with the interests of these branches themselves, because producing good products is profitable.

For so many years there have been discussions of the fact that each branch should produce goods in an amount at least equal to the wage fund. And nonetheless in the Ministry of Railways, for example, they produce little more than 1 kopek's worth of goods per R1 of the wage fund. Of the 32 railroads only four—Northern, Alma-Ata, Tselina, and Lvov—engage in series production of consumer goods.

It is true that certain changes for the better have already been noted. This year and next year the Ministry of Railways plans to put 14 shops and sections into operation, having reprofiled a number of underloaded industries. The intentions are good, but what will come of them? There is the threat of failure in introducing a number of reprofiled shops and sections at the Voronezh, Ussuriysk, Panyutinsk, and other repair plants. The reason: They do not have the necessary equipment. But why does the rich ministry, which makes purchases of technical equipment abroad each year, not spend at least a little bit of its hard currency on the acquisition of technological lines that are necessary for producing goods? But we still cannot rid ourselves of the idea that the branch's participation in saturating the market is a secondary matter.

Each year more and more residents of the city and the country express their readiness to help the state solve the housing problem with their own forces and money. But here is what happened: The purchase of materials became an unresolved problem. Enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry last year failed to make available for sale to the population 38,000 tonnes of cement, 57 million conventional slate tiles, 21,000 square meters of window glass and many other things. Since the beginning of last year they have failed to deliver R1.6 million worth of materials although, for example, the volume of slate production for sale to the population in 1989 was set at the 1988 level. Moreover, the capacities for producing slate at the Dushanbe combine for asbestos cement items are being utilized by half and at the Kaspi cement-slate plant—by 35 percent.

In a word, there is the possibility of placing more construction materials on the shelves of the stores, but production is not displaying any special zeal. A typical excuse: There is not enough raw material; there are no processed materials. Yet at just 87 enterprises of the ministry that were inspected there were above-normative supplies amounting to a sum of about R50 million. Why not use them for the production of goods for the people.

There is still no way we can control the shameful shortage of soap and detergents. But the statistics bring us perhaps consoling news: In the first quarter of this year the sale of soap and laundry powder increased by 11 percent. But it is still a problem to find them for sale. But what is surprising about this? The per capita production of detergents is: In the USSR—4.5 kg, the United States—13, Great Britain—18, and the FRG—26 kg. We had the opportunity at least to ease the critical shortage. To do this it would have been sufficient to put into operation Japanese equipment for producing 200,000 tonnes of soaps and detergents at the Novomoskovskbytkhim Production Association [PO], for whose purchase the state spent 30 million foreign currency rubles. But for 7 years the builders failed to produce the physical plant, they transformed it into long-term construction, and only a couple of days ago was the first batch of detergent produced there.

The situation is no better at enterprises that are in operation. At the Perm and Khabarovsk detergent plants, the Sterlitamak Soda PO and the Engels Khimvolokno PO the capacity for producing detergents are used by 66-74 percent, as a result of which each year we fail to receive up to 70,000 tonnes of such a necessary product.

The readers have probably noticed that the announcement from the USSR State Committee for Statistics concerning the results of the first quarter begins with a section entitled "Social Development." It emphasizes the priority of the social sphere. The figures in this section told us that the increase in the output of nonfood commodities exceeds the increase in the output of food by a factor of four. Our industry seems to be providing an example for the entire national economy of how to be concerned for the good of the people. But are their successes really so great?

Judge for yourselves? They produced less than the earmarked quantity of tape recorders (by 79,000) and sewing machines (2,000). Enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Machine Building did not fulfill the assignments of the first quarter for the delivery of radios, washing machines, and refrigerators; the Ministry of the Electronics Industry—television sets; the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry—vacuum cleaners. The

increase in the output of a number of goods has lagged behind—and fairly significantly—the rates envisioned for the year. Thus the production of radios increased by only 2 percent and washing machines by 7 percent, while the planned rate of increase for both was 16 percent. Compare also these data, which characterize the actual and the planned increase: color television sets—11 and 15, vacuum cleaners—7 and 15, galvanized elements and batteries—2 and 10. As we can see, there is no burst forward.

Light industry continues to amaze us with the increases of the prices for its items while it has extremely modest achievements in the area of improvement of quality. Even the dispassionate State Committee for Statistics had to notice that "the increase in the output of light industry goods continues, to a significant degree, as a result of items sold with increments to retail prices." Recently at a plenum of the central committee of the branch trade union this fact was brought up: At the Moscow Chayka PO clothing production increased by 12 percent while in retail prices—it doubled.

Now let us take a look at the spotty collage glued together from labels with various indexes used to jack up prices. The picture that emerges is not very bright. There were violations of contractual commitments at 140 enterprises. They failed to produce R91 million worth of products and goods. Contractual commitments were fulfilled worse than average for the ministry by light industry enterprises of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], Kirghizia, Uzbekistan, Georgia, and Azerbaijan. Trade resources used for providing for retail commodity turnover were R1.6 million less than planned. The supplies of nonfood products in the retail trade network failed to reach the normative by R6.7 billion. The delivery to trade of knitted, sewn, and hosiery items increased by only 3-4 percent, footwear—remained at approximately the same level as the first quarter of last year, and fabrics—decreased by 9 percent.

How tired the consumer has become of constantly solving difficult problems of buying a suit, a coat, or even a pair of tights. As before, parents stand in line to buy cotton underwear, shoes, or a jacket for their children.... So far one can see no improvement with goods for the elderly either. In a word, there are frustrations at every turn.

We cannot test people's patience any more. But perhaps this is the most important reason why we can delay no longer with the radical economic reform and the development of commodity-monetary relations. Because it is already clear to everyone: No attempts on the part of the administrative system to achieve improvement of the state of affairs in the market will do any good.

Statistics on Losses Due to Work 'Diversion'

PM0805114389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 May 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Yu. Rytov article under the rubric "Statistics and Our Commentary": "Work at a Standstill; Wages Rolling In"]

[Text] **The USSR State Committee for Statistics reports: The expenditure incurred by enterprises, institutions, and associations in connection with the diversion of workers from their main jobs declined from R1.65 million to R1.35 million in 1988 compared with last year.**

How much has already been written about the so-called sponsorship assistance, with thousands of people abandoning their main jobs and making their way either to pick potatoes or to work on construction sites or at fruit and vegetable bases.... Efforts were made not to divert workers from the production lines or machine tools in this process—the production program would have been wrecked. The role of "sponsors" was played mainly by designers and technologists, laboratory technicians and draftsmen, scientists and physicians....

And so, the latest statistical report shows that despite the public's sharply critical attitude to this practice, it is still in existence even though its framework has been somewhat narrowed. As ever, labor collectives lose hundreds of millions of rubles on "voluntarily enforced" sponsorship assistance. Are economic accountability and self-financing imaginable in these conditions?

Of course, nobody would object to the cities' helping the countryside: We all are well aware how acute the food problem is at present. But is it worth organizing this assistance on the basis of ruinous "sponsorship" principles? Could it not be based on firm economic accountability foundations so as to generate mutual interest? Furthermore, is it sensible to reduce it to such primitive and non-productive forms? After all, every sizeable industrial enterprise now has a mighty technical and intellectual potential for solving the countryside's fundamental problems.... Like, for example, technology for the processing and storage of harvest yields, small-scale mechanization means, and so on. And surely the countryside in turn could supply plant dining rooms with part of its produce?

According to statistical organs' calculations, the main item of losses comprises payments of wages at the main place of work (R1.55 million in 1987, R1,265,000 in 1988). But how can we calculate the loss due to the fact that the main work had come to a standstill? And how can we quantify the moral damage inflicted on people by the performance of duties which are not in line with their skills, their inclinations, their wishes, and finally and simply their physical potential?

Last year the diversion of workers and employees from their main jobs resulted in 500,000 persons' being absent from their work every day! Essentially, this is the equivalent of five industrial giants like ZIL or KamAZ being out of service and altogether inoperative....

But where exactly did people go when they left their normal place of work? Agricultural work naturally holds top position. There were 63 million "sponsorship" man-days expended there in 1988 (42.4 percent of the total number of people diverted from their main jobs). Construction projects and urban amenities work consumed 25.2 million "sponsorship" man-days (16.9 percent). Work at young pioneer camps accounted for 7.8 million man-days (5.2 percent). Fruit and vegetable bases took up 6 million (4 percent)....

I would like to especially single out two of the remaining categories of "diversion."

Time spent on amateur artistic activity and sports competitions deprived production work of 1.6 million man-days. Even though some people still try to explain the provision of free help to rural residents or construction industry workers by references to harsh necessity (explanations can be offered but not necessarily accepted!), it is certainly, obviously, and totally inappropriate to sing and dance during working hours at the state's expense!

Another traditional category of worktime loss can be added to singing and dancing: conferences and seminars. Last year they accounted for a total of 2.8 million man-days. Just imagine: Several million persons totally abandoning their work once a year in order to confer—"to discuss the question!" Yes, we confer a lot, obviously too much.

But the most amazing point is that the conferences and seminars mentioned by the statistical report have nothing to do with people's main jobs! So what did they discuss at these conferences and seminars? The report is silent on this point. But even if we were to assume that the meetings were both topical and useful, why were they not held after work?

1st-Quarter Rail Performance Data Cited

18290163 Moscow GUDOK in Russian
26 Apr 89 p 2

[Report from the Statistical Administration of the Ministry of Railways]

[Text] The quarterly plan for cargo shipment was fulfilled ahead of schedule on 29 March. More than 1 billion tonnes of cargo were shipped, which exceeds the planned assignment by 24.6 million tonnes. The state order for passenger turnover was overfulfilled by 2.5 percent. Labor productivity exceeded the planned level by 4.6 percent and the level reached in the first quarter of 1988—by 1.8 percent. Above-plan profit amounted to R78 million.

Cargo shipped amounted to 1.3 billion tonnes, or 24.65 percent of the amount set by control figures for 1989. Of the overall amount of above-plan shipments of 24.6 million tonnes, 67 percent or 16.5 million tonnes were cargo from the state order, which was fulfilled for all listed kinds of cargo except chemical and mineral fertilizers.

The plan for shipments was exceeded by 4 million tonnes of coal, 1.2 million tonnes of oil and petroleum products, 600,000 tonnes of coke, more than 1 million tonnes of ore, sulfur raw material and flux, 2.7 million tonnes of ferrous metals, and other products. We delivered more than 5 million additional tonnes of grain and milling products and about 30,000 carloads of food products.

This was achieved as a result of the overfulfillment of the plan by the collectives of 27 railroads, and above all the Dnepr, Donetsk, Moscow, Belorussian, Odessa, Sverdlovsk, October, Baltic, Southern, North Caucasus, Lvov, Southwestern, East Siberian, and Kuybyshev.

One cannot but note that on nine railroads of the European part of the country and eight of the eastern part the amounts of shipments decreased as compared to the first quarter of 1988, especially on the West Siberian—5.5 percent, Southeastern—2.8, Tselina—2.9, and West Kazakhstan—2.6 percent.

The plan for shipments according to the list of the state order for the network as a whole was fulfilled by 92.9 percent. On the whole the network provided for the delivery of 13 out of the 14 planned cargoes. Only the Moscow, Moldavian, Southeastern, and Baykal-Amur railroads fulfilled the plan by 100 percent.

Rail transportation sustains large losses because of the irregular operation of industrial enterprises and the reduction of the level of loading on nonworking days. Calculations show that as a result of this alone losses of shipments amount to 8.6 million tonnes.

Containers were used in the network as a whole to ship 13,474,000 tonnes or 100.6 percent of last year's level, including large-tonnage containers—5,245,000 tonnes or 102 percent of the plan and the 1988 level. The additional income received as a result of increasing the loading of containers amounted to R8.1 million.

The average statistical load increased as compared to the same period of last year by 60 kg. The plan with respect to this indicator was fulfilled by the network and the majority of railroads, with the exception of the October and Alma-Ata railroads. At the same time there was a considerable reduction of the statistical loading on the Moldavian, West Kazakhstan, Kemerovo, and Tselina railroads.

Cargo turnover amounted to 965 billion scheduled tonne-kilometers. This corresponds to the plan, but is 12.8 billion less than last year while the average distance of

the shipments remained at almost the same level. Half of the railroads of the network are fulfilling the assignment for cargo turnover. The greatest arrears have been on the Tselina, Volga, Sverdlovsk, and South Ural railroads. All of the increase in cargo turnover was achieved as a result of increasing the volume of cargo shipments. The distance increased for the transportation of such large cargoes as coal, oil, and petroleum products, chemical and mineral fertilizers, and timber cargoes.

Passenger turnover amounted to 84.1 billion passenger-kilometers. The state order was overfulfilled with respect to this indicator. More than 970 million passengers were transported. As compared to the corresponding period of last year, passenger turnover increased by 2.9 percent. At the same time it decreased on eight railroads, and the plan was not fulfilled on nine of them.

The average number of passengers per car remained at the same level as it was for the corresponding period of last year; for urban transportation it was 35.5 and for long-distance travel—28.5 passengers per car.

The schedule of passenger trains. During the first quarter almost 181,000 passenger trains were sent from the stations where they were formed and also from the turn-around points, and 96.4 percent of these were on schedule. On-time arrivals amounted to 87.3 percent. These figures are worse than last year's by 1.3 and 2 percent, respectively.

In the network as a whole the schedule was kept by 94.1 percent as compared to 94.3 percent in 1988. This figure was worse than last year's on 12 railroads. In March the level of meeting the schedule for travel was somewhat worse and amounted to 95.1 percent.

Shortcomings in maintaining the technical equipment and organizing traffic led to delays in arrival on an average of one-eighth of the trains. On the Moscow, Southern, and Southwestern railroads every fifth train was late, and on the Donetsk—every fourth train.

The railroads experienced significant difficulties in organizing operational work during the first quarter are a result of the consequences of the earthquake in Armenia. On the Transcaucasian, Azerbaijan, and North Caucasus railroads alone 25,000 cars loaded with cargo for this republic were delayed, which was reflected both in the overall results of the work and in the utilization of the rolling stock. The delays of many passenger trains were also related to this.

The turnover of cars was delayed by 5.5 hours. The increased amount of idle time during loading operations and at technical service stations accounted for 85 percent of this. As a result the lag behind the planned assignment amounted to 3.7 percent.

The average weight of a cargo train. The planned assignment was underfulfilled by 2 percent (63 tonnes). The losses of the weight of trains amounting to 0.5 percent, i.e. 16 tonnes, were accounted for by increased movement while empty. This was partially compensated for by the increase in the statistical loading, the composition of the trains, and the weight of the containers in the car. Large losses of weight (40-60 tonnes) occurred because of the 1.5-2.5-percent increase in the amount of travel while empty in the Far East, Tselina, Southern, Transbaykal, and Southeastern railroads.

Since the beginning of the year half of the railroads have increased the weight of the trains, including the Volga, East Siberian, and Baykal-Amur, which overfulfilled the established normatives. The implementation of the program for increasing the weight of the trains is proceeding unsatisfactorily on the Gorkiy, Southern, South Ural, Tselina, Transcaucasian, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus, Sverdlovsk, and West Siberian railroads, and this indicator decreased in March, which had a negative effect on the results since the beginning of the year.

There are still many trains traveling without full loads or without full compositions. The proportion of these has increased both throughout the network as a whole and on individual railroads, above all on the Odessa, North Caucasus, Sverdlovsk, Kemerovo, Transbaykal, and Far Eastern.

The average daily productivity of a locomotive, according to the results of the first quarter, decreased by 0.6 percent. This indicator increased on 18 railroads, and most significantly on the Alma-Ata, Krasnoyarsk, East Siberian, and also, mainly because of the increase in the average daily travel distance, on the Central Asian, Gorkiy, and West Siberian.

The average section speed of cargo trains decreased as compared to a similar period of last year by 0.3 km per hour and amounted to 32.5 km per hour. It increased only on the railroads of Siberia and the East by an average of up to 2 km an hour, and also on the Tselina, Alma-Ata, Central Asian, Sverdlovsk, Kuybyshev, Northern, Southwestern, and Moldavian railroads.

In the first quarter of this year 88.6 percent of the cargo trains departed from the stations where they were formed on schedule, which was higher than last year's level by 0.3 percent. The schedule for traffic in the network as a whole was fulfilled by 74.8 percent which corresponds to last year's level. This indicator improved on 14 railroads. The best results were achieved on the Krasnoyarsk, Moldavian, and Baykal-Amur railroads.

Deliveries of rolling stock. Transport machine building enterprises during January-March delivered 14,808 new cargo cars to rail transportation, which is 643 cars more than called for in the plan, but 346 less than were delivered during the corresponding period of last year.

Shortages in deliveries of products were from the Stakhanov railroad car construction plant—11 mineral cars, Dneprodzerzhinsk—92 universal platform cars, and Bryansk—129 refrigerator sections. Isothermic rolling stock is being delivered late from the GDR.

We have received 442 passenger cars. While the Kalinin plant fulfilled the plan by 104.6 percent, we did not manage to import 11 sleeping coaches. We delivered 22,202 containers or 102.9 percent of the plan.

The subways fulfilled the plan for transportation by 101.2 percent. More than 15 million passengers were transported in excess of the plan. They received R1,151,000 in income in addition to the plan. The savings on operational funds amounted to R2,696,000. The cost of transportation decreased by 4.4 percent as compared to the plan. The assignment for labor productivity was overfulfilled by 5.1 percent.

Industrial rail transportation enterprises during the first quarter shipped more than 175 million tonnes of national economic products. This is 5.8 million tonnes or 3.4 percent more than envisioned by the plan. The increase in shipments as compared to the corresponding period of last year under comparable conditions amounted to 7.7 percent. The plan for the volume of loading and unloading work was fulfilled by 103.7 percent and 104.5 million tonnes of cargo were processed.

Industrial enterprises of the Ministry of Railways provided for an increase in the production volume as compared to the first quarter of last year by 1.8 percent. Labor productivity increased by 7 percent. The output of nonfood consumer goods increased by 42 percent. The plan for profit was fulfilled. At the same time contractual discipline deteriorated. The number of plants that did not meet their commitment increased by almost 2 percent. They failed to deliver R4.5 million worth of products.

Twelve plants failed to keep up with their deliveries. Those with the largest deficits were the Ishim machine plant, the Baku railcar repair factory [VRZ], and the Moscow Krasnyy Put machine plant.

The number of enterprises on the railroads that did not fulfill their contractual commitments increased by 1.5. They failed to deliver R1.8 million worth of products. The Soyuzzheldoravtomatizatsiya scientific production association [NPO] achieved 100-percent fulfillment of contractual commitments for the first time.

The volume of industrial production in the branch increased by 1.8 percent as compared to the first quarter of last year. In the Main Administration of Rolling Stock Repair and Spare Parts Production, the production volume increased by 1.4 percent. At the same time every third plant reduced the volume of output.

While the plan was fulfilled for the repair of all kinds of rolling stock, the output of steam engines and electric engines decreased by almost 13 percent, mainly because of capital repair of the latter. The majority of plants fulfilled the plan for the repair of cargo cars. While there was an increase in the capital repair of passenger cars, their output continues to fall short of the established assignment. One-third of the plants specializing in the repair of passenger cars were unable to keep up with the plan.

Transportation enterprises produced R31.6 million worth of nonfood consumer goods, which is R7 million or 29 percent above the plan and 42 percent more than in the first quarter of last year.

Railroad enterprises, having increased the output of goods fourfold as compared to 1988, overfulfilled the quarterly plan by R3.8 million.

The plan for the sale of paid services to the population on the whole was fulfilled by 102.3 percent. Above-plan income from the basic transportation activity—transporting passengers and baggage—and income from the passenger service office amounted to R19 million, and from nonbasic activity—R1 million.

Capital investments. This year it will be necessary to assimilate R7.132 million, which is R241 million or 3.4 percent more than last year. Capital investments from money from the enterprise funds increased by R212 million or 5.7 percent. They provided for 67 percent of the construction of facilities for production purposes and 76 percent of the facilities in the social sphere.

On the whole the Ministry of Railways allotted R190 million, or 22 percent more than last year, for the construction of facilities in the social sphere. In 1989 it is intended to increase the limit on the construction of housing by 20 percent, public health institutions—25 percent, and public education facilities—17 percent.

The results of the first quarter show that while the assimilation of capital investments was better than last year, the assignments were not fulfilled. From all sources of financing R1.558 billion in capital investments were assimilated or 91 percent of the limit established for this period. They did R610 million worth of construction and installation work, or 99 percent of the limit.

Volumes of housing construction increased. In 3 months railroad workers received 224,000 square meters of dwelling space as compared to 210,000 last year. The plan was fulfilled and there was an increase in the introduction of housing as compared to the first quarter of last year on the October, Tselina, Northern, Lvov, Southeastern, and East Siberian railroads.

At the same time the Baykal-Amur, West Siberian, and Volga railroads were unable to cope with the plan, having allowed construction arrears of 8,000 square

meters of dwelling space, which was almost 9 percent of the plan for the quarter for the branch. The work rates that have been achieved so far are inadequate for complete fulfillment of the capital construction program earmarked for 1989.

The labor productivity of workers employed in shipments increased by 1.8 percent during the first quarter or by 4.6 percent as compared to the plan.

Transportation operation with 29,000 fewer personnel than it did during the corresponding period of last year.

The assignment for labor productivity was fulfilled by 26 railroads. The highest rates of increase as compared to last year were achieved on the Baykal-Amur, Alma-Ata, Central Asian, and Odessa railroads. Of the railroads that did not fulfill the plan with respect to this most important indicator, the furthest behind were the Tselina, Sverdlovsk, and Northern.

The average monthly earnings of operations personnel since the beginning of the year increased by R9 or 3.1 percent and amounted to R309. On 17 railroads of the network, including the Moscow, North Caucasian, Odessa, Dnepr, Alma-Ata, Central Asian, and Baykal-Amur the normative ratios between the increase in average earnings and labor productivity were provided for. On other railroads this ratio was not observed, especially on the Northern, Sverdlovsk, and Transbaykal, where with an increase in earnings, labor productivity even decreased as compared to a similar period of last year.

Agricultural

Bad Weather Does 'Serious Damage' to Uzbek Crops

PM0505135389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[Report by correspondent V. Artemenko under the rubric "Emergency Situation": "Snow-Covered Melon Patches"]

[Text] Tashkent, 3 May—Cities and villages in Uzbekistan were hit by bad weather on the last day of April and on May Day. Syrdarya, Tashkent, and Samarkand Oblasts, and the Fergana valley suffered rain turning into snow. Some areas received 30 percent of the average monthly amount of precipitation.

Snow at the end of April is a rare phenomenon in this region. The last time something like it happened in Tashkent—the latest snowfall—was on 23 April 1942. This record has now been beaten by a whole week. As a result of the torrential rain mixed with snow and the sharp drop in temperature and frost the republic's agriculture has sustained serious damage. Around 600,000 hectares of cotton were damaged, of which nearly 400,000 hectares have to be resown. Orchards and vineyards, mulberry trees, and plantations of vegetable and melon and other crops covering an area of 300,000 hectares were seriously affected.

Losses of fruit and grapes could amount to 200,000 tonnes, vegetables, melon crops, and potatoes—350,000, grain crops—350,000-400,000, and cotton—200,000-250,000 tonnes. The republic's farms will need R450-500 million for resowing, for fuel, and for pay. What is more, over 400,000 sheep and goats were killed and personal plots, homes, and farm buildings—another R150 million or so—were lost.

A republican government commission was set up to eliminate the aftermath of the disaster. Here is what its chairman, Uzbek Council of Ministers First Deputy Chairman I. Dzhurabekov, said:

"All the farmers here were working over the holiday. State Agro-industrial Committee specialists and scientists from all the republic's agricultural science institutions went immediately to the disaster area and they are giving the peasants all the help they can. Tens of thousands of representatives of worker collectives are working in the fields. But their efforts alone are not enough. We are asking for grain forage from union stocks to make mixed feed in the republic. We are asking for extra oil cake and oilseed meal to be released to farms from the total quantity produced in the republic, on top of the previously allocated amount. We need interest-free credit until 1995 to carry out work connected with resowing agricultural crops and reestablishing orchards and vineyards. Free assistance must be given to farms, the population, and lessees from budget resources."

April Weather Conditions, Crop Development Viewed

10-Day Report

18240149a Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 15 Apr 89 p 1

[Report by A. Grishina, agrometeorologist]

[Text] Throughout all of the first 10 days of April in Moldavia, in the southern half of the Ukraine, and in the Northern Caucasus the weather was warm and mainly dry. On certain days the air warmed to 23-27 degrees. The temperature of the soil at a depth of 10 cm was 10-13 degrees. Conditions were created for planting heat-loving crops. Early spring grain crops were in the phase of shoots and the third leaf. Shoots of sugar beets are appearing—20-30 days earlier than the average over many years. There has been active growth of winter grain crops and perennial grasses. The grasses were 15-25 cm high. In Moldavia and the southern part of the Ukraine the supplies of productive moisture in the soil planted in winter grain crops and perennial grasses were reduced because of the shortage of precipitation.

The apricots, peaches, and plums continued to blossom, and the blossoming of various kinds of cherries was noted at the end of the 10-day period.

In the northern half of the Ukraine, Belorussia, the Baltic area, the Northwest, Central, Central Chernozem and a large part of the Volga region it was cold at the beginning of the 10-day period. Then it grew warmer. The snow left the fields. Conditions for field work improved. The winter grain crops grew only during the daylight hours.

In the Northern, Ural, and the northern part of the Volga-Vyatka and Volga regions the weather was colder than usual. The minimum air temperature dropped to minus 11-19 degrees. The winter grain crops and perennial grasses were under a cover of snow. Processing of rotting continued in the plants.

It was warm and dry in the Transcaucasian republics. In Azerbaijan the conditions were right for planting cotton. The temperature of the soil at a depth of 10 cm was 14-16 degrees. In Georgia subtropical crops were blossoming and buds were forming on the citrus trees.

In the farming regions of Western and Eastern Siberia and the Far East the weather stayed warm and there was precipitation. The average 10-day air temperature exceeded the many-year average for Siberia by 4-9 degrees. On the majority of the territory the total precipitation was 11-30 mm. It became colder at the end of the 10-day period. In the southern part of Western and Eastern Siberia and in the Transbaykal area growth resumed in the winter grain crops and perennial grasses 8-12 days earlier than the dates recorded over many years. In Siberia they are in the tillering stage, and in the Transbaykal area, in the phase of the third leaf.

It was colder than usual in the republics of Central Asia. In the majority of regions the average air temperature was 2-4 degrees lower than the many-year average. Freezing was observed (from minus 1 to minus 8 degrees), which was unfavorable for the blossoming fruit crops. The areas planted in winter grain crops were in the tillering phase. Tube extension was observed in wheat in the southeast of Kirghizia, the appearance of the lowest node of the stalk in barley in the east of Turkmenia, and heading in the south of the republic. Conditions were favorable for planting cotton in the majority of regions.

There was not enough warmth for intensive growth of grasses. The height of most of the alfalfa was 15-30 cm by the end of the 10-day period. Only in the south of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan did the alfalfa grow to 35-50 cm.

More on Crop, Weather Conditions

18240149b Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 26 Apr 89 p 2

[Report by A. Grishina, agrometeorologist]

[Text] The weather has been warmer than usual over a large part of the territory of the USSR. On the farms of the Ukraine, Moldavia, the Northern Caucasus, the south of the Central Chernozem regions, Lower Povolzhye, Belorussian, and the Baltic area growth of the stocks of winter grain crops has been observed. The development of winter grain crops here is 20-40 days ahead of the average many-year periods. They have resumed growth on the rest of the territory to the south of the line formed by Petrozavodsk-Vologda-Kostroma-Cheboksary-Kazan-Orenburg. The growth of plants in these regions began approximately a week ahead of schedule.

The conditions for the growth and development of plants in the Chernozem Zone were mainly good or satisfactory. Precipitation (11-30 mm) which fell in Moldavia, a large part of the Ukraine, the Central Chernozem region, and the western part of the Northern Caucasus moistened the upper layer of the soil. But in the southern part of the Ukraine and Moldavia, in the eastern part of the Northern Caucasian region and in Lower Povolzhye, where there was little precipitation, the shortage of moisture in the soil remained.

In the Baltic area, Belorussia, and the south of the Central region the growing conditions for winter crops were mainly satisfactory. Stem extension and the formation of side shoots began in the pulse crops on this territory.

Over a large part of Moldavia, the Ukraine, and the Northern Caucasus the third leaf phase was observed in early spring grain crops and tillering had started in the extreme north of the Ukraine. The rates of development are faster than the many-year average by 2-3 weeks.

The warm weather has continued in the Transcaucasian republics. The average 10-day air temperature was 3-5 degrees higher than the many-year average. In Azerbaijan conditions were favorable for planting cotton. The temperature of the soil at a depth of 10 cm was 17-20 degrees. Shoots have appeared on the early plantings.

In the farming regions of Western Siberia the weather has been unstable. During the cooling periods the minimum air temperature was from minus 7 to minus 14 degrees, and on the surface of the soil in places it went down to minus 18 degrees. Winter grain crops and perennial grasses have resumed growth everywhere south of the Novosibirsk-Tyumen line.

Warm and mainly dry weather favorable for conducting field work has continued in the Far East. The temperature of the soil at a depth of 10 cm was 3-4 degrees and in the south of Maritime Kray—up to 9 degrees. The plantings of winter rye have bushed out.

Unstable cool weather has continued in the Central Asian republics and most of Kazakhstan. In the majority of regions of Uzbekistan and Khirgizia and the north of Tajikistan and Turkmenia there were freezing temperatures in the air and on the surface of the soil. The largest

quantity of precipitation (11-30 mm and more) fell in the south of Kazakhstan, in the majority of regions of Khirgizia and Tajikistan, and also in the east of Uzbekistan.

In the south of Kazakhstan the winter rye and barley are in the tillering phase, in the south of Khirgizia and the north of Tajikistan—stem extension, and in the southeast of Turkmenia the areas planted in barley are in the heading phase. Stem extension was observed in winter rye almost everywhere. Shoots have appeared at close to the usual times in the cotton on areas with early planting times. Conditions have not been very favorable for the growth and development of the plants. The reduced temperature of the air and soil held back the development of the planted areas. In the regions where there have been torrential rains a crust has formed on the soil of the planted areas.

Military

Further on Victory Day Writings, Interviews

Akhromeyev Emphasizes Defense of Peace

PM0905132689 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 May 89 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Article by Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev: "Memory of War and Duty to Peace"]

[Text] Today we celebrate the day of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War. It is 44 years since the war unleashed by the Hitlerite aggressors ended in their total defeat on 9 May 1945.

Our people are profoundly grateful to the Armed Forces of the allied countries for the joint struggle and victory over Hitlerite fascism. They remember and always will remember that combat collaboration and pay due tribute to the people of the United States, Britain, and France for their great assistance in the joint struggle against the aggressor. In the course of current research this assistance has still to be evaluated more objectively. It was great assistance.

The people and Armed Forces of Yugoslavia, Poland, and Albania, and in the final stage of the war Bulgaria, Romania, and Czechoslovakia, and the patriots of Hungary and other countries of Europe made a weighty contribution to the defeat of Hitlerite fascism in fierce fighting alongside the people of the great powers. The progressive strata of the German people waged a hard struggle against fascism. In the vanguard of this struggle were the Communists and Social Democrats of Germany.

But it was clear in 1945 and is no less clear today that the main contribution to the defeat of Hitler's Wehrmacht was made by the people and Armed Forces of the Soviet Union. That is an objective historical fact.

In defeating fascism we were upholding the right to the Soviet people's very existence. By winning the Great Patriotic War we reaffirmed our choice—to follow the path of socialism. Thanks to the victory, the right to that choice was secured by the peoples of the GDR, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, who embarked on the socialist path of development. And despite the drastic reverses, errors, and defects that occurred in the postwar years in the building of the socialist society, the peoples of those countries are following their chosen path.

The peoples of China, Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and other Asian countries waged war against aggressive Japanese militarism during those years. The defeat of Hitlerite fascism had a great influence on their ultimate victory, too.

In the war years Soviet people underwent unprecedented sufferings and privations and made enormous sacrifices. The aggressors barbarously destroyed enormous material resources and priceless monuments of our history and culture. The Hitlerite army, inflicting grave defeats on the Red Army in 1941-1942, advanced to Moscow and Stalingrad. The enemy occupied our motherland's territory inhabited by some 70 million people. The defeats at the beginning of the war and the general failures in the summer campaigns of 1941 and 1942 had objective and subjective causes.

History had given us less than 20 years to restore the national economy after the ravages of the civil war and prepare to rebuff aggression of such enormous power. But among all the circumstances a special place belongs to the criminal repressions perpetrated on Stalin's orders in the prewar years against the command and political personnel of the Red Army and Navy, against party and soviet leaders, against the best representatives of the intelligentsia, against millions of Soviet people. These repressions weakened our Army and society as a whole and inflicted major damage on the Soviet Union's international prestige. Enormous damage was done to the organization of the rebuff of fascist aggression by Stalin's erroneous assessment of the military-strategic situation that had taken shape by the summer of 1941, which prevented us from bringing the troops up to combat readiness, preparing more systematically to rebuff the Hitlerites' aggression, and meeting it in a well-organized way.

That is why, alongside the memory of the triumph of the great victory, the Soviet people retain and will forever retain the permanent grief of the enormous waste and losses we suffered in the Great Patriotic War.

Looking back on past years, assessing the past, and thinking about the future, I would like to say one more thing. In the twenties and thirties a remarkable generation of young people was raised, selflessly devoted to socialist ideals. That generation was ready to suffer any sacrifice or privation, even to die, for the sake of the

socialist motherland. These were the boys and girls, men and women, aged between 17 and 35 in June 1941, who formed the basis of our Armed Forces and rear workers, rising to defend the socialist fatherland. This generation was raised in difficult conditions and tempered by Leninist Communists.

I remember the days when workers and Bolsheviks were constantly visiting us in our schools and at All-Union Leninist Communist Youth Leaque [Komsomol] meetings, showing by example the justice of the Leninist cause, showing concern for our health, and starting summer pioneer camps. At the enterprises' expense, many schoolchildren were clothed, shod, and fed free at school. Without this material assistance, half of the schoolchildren in the cities would have been unable to study or finish school at all. Young people in the countryside and villages achieved literacy. Our youth was very hard in material terms, but we were confident of a better future and worked to achieve it. That is the paradox of that era, when alongside the inhumanity of the Stalinist regime there were the profound humanism and concern of true Communists for the future, for the young generation and their communist education. And in the fighting for the socialist fatherland the young people justified that concern and the trust placed in them.

Not many of that generation returned from the war, but they worthily fulfilled their duty to the motherland. Suffice it to say that of those born in 1923 who took part in the war, only 2 out of 10 survived.

That same generation restored the national economy after the war. I think we should assess more objectively the contribution of these people to the defense and formation of our socialist motherland. These people's convictions and their cause are today a contribution to our restructuring.

The USSR Armed Forces, having emerged from the Great Patriotic War, have for more than 40 years worthily fulfilled the tasks entrusted to them in the defense of their motherland against aggression and the protection of its state interests.

In Soviet society now, along with many problems of our life, we are discussing widely the degree of military danger to the Soviet Union in present conditions, and also what kind of Armed Forces we need today in this connection. These are no idle questions. The right answers are very important to the success of the restructuring of our society and its economy and the reliable defense of the Soviet people's peaceful labor.

Does a military danger now exist for the USSR and its allies? The political and military leaders of the NATO bloc, in conversations with us, often put the question still more bluntly: "Do you really believe that today the United States and the North Atlantic Alliance intend to unleash war on the USSR and the Warsaw Pact?"

It is probably easier to answer the second question than the first. I personally really believe that the United States and its allies have no intention of unleashing a war against us today or in the immediate future. This is confirmed both by the military-political situation in the world and Soviet-American relations today, and by the deployment of their Armed Forces. I could say more. Unless the correlation of political, economic, military, and other forces in the world, including the correlation between the USSR and the United States, changes drastically in the near future and the atmosphere deteriorates, that is, unless aggressive forces have a destabilizing effect, this situation will persist in future. I repeat, this question is easier to answer.

The first question—whether a military danger exists for the Soviet Union and its allies at present—is not so easy to answer.

In his 7 December 1988 speech at the United Nations, M.S. Gorbachev formulated new principles for approaches to the normalization of the international situation and the building of a new world. These are as follows. The threat of force, and force in general, cannot and should not be a foreign policy instrument. Every people has the right to choose the social system by which it intends to organize its life. Social development in different countries is diverse. They should learn to live peacefully side by side. The deideologization of interstate relations is necessary. We will not renounce our convictions and do not call on others to renounce theirs.

The Soviet Union has drawn its own conclusions. These principles have become the basis of its foreign policy. We and our allies strive to act in precisely this way and call on other countries to do the same. It cannot be said that many of them are totally deaf to our appeals. There are positive developments. But the old, strong-arm approaches are still in plentiful supply. They were displayed by the former U.S. Administration, and President G. Bush's administration has not abandoned them.

On 6 March G. Bush spoke at a conference of the American organization Veterans of Foreign Wars. Touching on measures to ensure the international atmosphere that the United States needs, he said: "The secret of our success will be assessed by one word—strength. Let us keep the military might that helped to change the situation throughout the world." And further: "We should maintain and modernize our forces, nuclear and conventional.... Unwise unilateral reductions (of armed forces) are by no means the way to peace, security, and freedom." And speaking in the Pentagon on 21 March, President G. Bush again stated: "This is no time for the United States and its allies to carry out a unilateral reduction in armed forces and slacken efforts to ensure defense." Other U.S. political and military leaders repeat what their President has said, with appropriate variations according to their position in the administration.

The statement of the NATO bloc's war ministers on 20 April is even clearer: "The preservation of appropriate military might and political cohesion is the basis for constructive dialogue and cooperation with the East, including in the arms control sphere."

Thus it is clear that today the United States and some of its allies intend to deal with us on the basis of the policy of strength. But are these perhaps only words? No, unfortunately, it is not only words. Many figures have recently been published characterizing the correlation of military forces of the NATO bloc and the Warsaw Pact.

Here are the latest such figures, characterizing the total military might of the two alliances:

	Warsaw Pact	NATO
Total strength of Armed Forces (thousands)	5,300	6,523
Combat aircraft (thousands)	10.5	14.1
Tanks (thousands)	80.0	40.3
Large surface ships including:	160	673
aircraft carriers	4	25
ships carrying cruise missiles	47	358

The United States is conducting talks with us on strategic offensive arms reduction. The NATO bloc is conducting talks with the Warsaw Pact on reducing conventional arms (ground forces and air forces). But neither is willing to hold talks on reducing naval forces. Why not? Only because in that area they are striving to augment their military superiority over us.

It is 40 years since the United States deployed its military bases around the Soviet Union, stationing more than 500,000 troops there, 1,500 aircraft, and major naval forces, and it does not intend to reduce them.

All these are facts. What are these forces for? If we conclude that the United States and the NATO bloc as a whole really do not intend to unleash war on the Soviet Union in the near future, then there can only be one answer—in order to conduct a policy of pressure with regard to the Soviet Union and secure political concessions from us with the help of force. That is the reality. It must be reckoned with. And in order to ensure that this policy with regard to us does not work, to maintain a normal situation in the world, and to protect our state interests and those of our allies, we must maintain appropriate armed forces—Army and Navy.

So what, then, does all this mean? Once again an endless arms race and economic depletion of peoples and states? No. The principles of interstate relations put forward by M.S. Gorbachev at the United Nations, which were mentioned above, will increasingly define the norms of relations between states, which will lead to the normalization of the international situation. Before our very eyes today a struggle is in progress between the policy of strength and the policy of consideration of mutual interests. We hope for the victory of reason. Of course, much work must be done to this end, but we must have enough patience and persistence. Consideration of mutual interests is beginning to be manifested sometimes in the policy of the United States and its allies, too. In recent years this has led to a lessening of military tension in the world.

That is why it became possible to reduce our Armed Forces by 500,000 men, with which we set an example to other countries and peoples. This, like the Soviet Union's other peace-loving steps, by no means vanished without trace. Continuing this line, the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, and all other peace-loving countries will seek to ensure that force ceases to be an instrument of foreign policy. We are convinced that this is possible. Then the talks on strategic offensive arms reduction between the USSR and the United States, those on the reduction of armed forces in Europe between the Warsaw Pact and the NATO bloc, and other talks will lead to the reduction of armed forces and the cutting of arms production.

Thus the symbiosis of the policy of strength and the policy of consideration of mutual interests that is forging a path for itself with considerable difficulty in the actions of the United States and some of its allies requires new efforts from the Soviet Union to establish normal, peace-loving relations between states with different social systems in the world. But it is necessary at the same time to maintain the Soviet Armed Forces at the proper level, so that a position of strength policy with regard to our country is futile.

Clearly the aforementioned circumstances and principles should determine our society's attitude toward the Soviet Armed Forces in the conditions of restructuring. Society needs them, they are a necessary component of it. The Soviet Army and Navy should be strong and up-to-date in both equipment and training.

Restructuring is today in progress in all Army and Navy components. It shapes their life. On the basis of the defensive military doctrine approved by the CPSU Central Committee, the government, and the Armed Forces leadership and with the active participation of all the top command personnel, a defensive military strategy and art of operations were formulated. It is on the basis of these that operational training of command and political personnel, field training of troop staffs, air training of airmen, and sea training of naval forces now take place. The structure and composition of the Army and Navy are changing, taking on a defensive orientation.

Persistent work is under way to strengthen military discipline. Commanding officers and political workers react actively to the demands of the public, servicemen's parents, and citizens for the elimination of bullying of

recruits and other phenomena alien to our Army. Justified criticism of the shortcomings that occur in units and subunits by the mass media is useful, it increases activeness in the work of all Army components and prompts a more avid response to defects in work.

But I would like to appeal to the press, radio, and television, to all who write and talk about the Army and Navy, to ensure that in this context what I would call firm kindness, attentiveness, and justice prevail. It must not be forgotten that the USSR Armed Forces are the defenders of peace for our people. The combat service carried out by servicemen is difficult. Often, by virtue of its specific nature, it is carried out at the limit of people's moral and physical potential. Even in peacetime it is often dangerous to life.

Not everyone always understands correctly why our Armed Forces are regular forces based on compulsory military service, and that this does not happen because someone wishes it, but that it is based on the specific geostrategic, military-political situation and economic conditions. As long as the NATO bloc exists, and therefore the military danger to the Soviet Union and its allies, our Armed Forces cannot be constructed on a different principle, the so-called volunteer principle. Incidentally, it is no accident that the armies of the NATO bloc in Europe—those of the FRG, France, Italy, Spain, and others—are based on the regular principle.

Given that a debate sometimes arises on this matter in the press and on television, we military leaders are prepared to take part in that debate and present all the arguments in reply to the questions that interest the public.

Young Soviet servicemen serve in the Armed Forces on the basis of their constitutional duty, motivated by patriotism and devotion to the motherland. The development of these feelings in them is the duty of every member of our society. When these feelings are unjustifiably, tactlessly, and sometimes scornfully slighted, this is a painful wound for military collectives and for the Army and Navy as a whole. Such instances are, unfortunately, not isolated. If the Armed Forces are the defenders of the Soviet people and the socialist fatherland, then society should defend the Army and Navy against insults and injuries. Officers and their families, because of the specific nature of the work, may move from one place to another 12 or 15 times in the period of service by the head of the family, and a great part of their life is spent in severe climatic conditions and very difficult social and living conditions. One would wish all this to be understood, appreciated, and taken into account in our society, and reflected truthfully.

People of my generation, who entered active life in the late thirties and early forties and survived the war, were 60 or over in 1985. I think the majority of us—regardless of the position we occupied in our society in postwar times—regard the Great Patriotic War years as the main years of our lives. At that time it was up to us whether our motherland would have sovereignty or would fall into slavery, whether our people would live free or exist under the threat of physical annihilation. Our motherland and our people had no other defenders but us. We conquered fascism, saved our state and our people, and helped other peoples to become free. This gives spiritual sustenance and strength to us veterans to this day.

The restructuring of our society began in 1985. It began under the leadership of the Communist Party. The party is the initiator and organizer. Making the socialist society democratic, spiritually mature, and materially well supplied, and playing an active part in this, has made the activity of our veterans in the final stage of their labor activity the second most important phase of our lives. True, this period, too, is difficult; it, too, requires intensive work, persistence, initiative, and principle. But we are not afraid of that. Labor for the sake of socialism was always the norm for real Leninist Communists. This is the objective that the truth of victory dictates to us.

Maksimov Interviewed

LD0905133989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 9 May 89

[Interview with Army General Yuriy Pavlovich Maksimov, deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Strategic Rocket Forces and hero of the Soviet Union, by correspondent Kim Khukholev, on the occasion of Victory Day; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Khukholev] Yuriy Pavlovich, I know you took part in the Great Patriotic War and fought on the southwest, second, third, and fourth Ukrainian fronts; that you were wounded three times, and to this day carry shrapnel from a fascist mine. Is that right?

[Maksimov] Yes, that's right.

[Khukholev] Tell me, please, is your attitude changing? Are your views changing to the events of that now long-past war time? Is your perception of the very victory celebration changing?

[Maksimov] The universal historic significance of our victory in the Great Patriotic War is quite intransient. And for that reason, this festive day cannot be transformed into merely a formal thing for tokens of attention and gratitude to those men at the front still alive, and to those who fell in battle. It was and remains a day of continuity and interrelationship for whole generations of Soviet people. A festival of honor and dignity of the entire people. A triumph for its love of freedom.

For me and those of my peers who walked the roads of war, each successive festival of victory is quite unique. But the first is particularly memorable. It was in the Austrian Alps. A truly joyful May—the first spring flowers of peace which I had never noticed at the front. Beside death and blood, flowers do not inspire a sense of

well-being. And at the time I was only 20 years of age—a captain and commander of a machine gun company. I had only just recovered from my last wound and was indescribably happy because I was left alive and was young, and also because all around there was the noise of people rejoicing on this first day of peace after the terrible and extremely harsh war that had claimed tens of millions of lives and crippled hundreds of millions of human destinies.

Just then I had no idea that I would spend all the next 44 postwar years protecting our victory with my soldier's labor. My attitude and views on the events of the war do, of course, change. More and more we are broadening our notions of the past war and growing more profoundly aware of the significance of our victory for world history and of the magnificence of the feat of the Soviet people and of all who fought against fascism. Forty-four years of peace—a great contribution to that was made by the front generation of Soviet people.

[Khukholev] Forty-four years is a whole lifetime, the lifetime of an entire generation. Yuriy Pavlovich, there is currently a great deal of talk about the truth of the war not being fully reflected in its history—the published history, I mean. There are calls for the assessments of the outcome to be reviewed.

[Maksimov] Well, any war—and particularly World War II is saturated with events that are heroic and bitter, with examples of victories and defeats, of heroic feats and human tragedies. There were mistakes, there was treachery and all that is the truth. But truth about war cannot be either bad or good. We have to know the whole truth, however bitter or sometimes offensive to us it may be. But as I see it, the main truth of the war is the truth of our victory; it lies in the military and labor feat of the people, in the honorable and incredibly difficult soldiering on the battlefields. Those were difficult years, but there was never any doubt of ultimate victory. The call of the party: Our cause is rightful; the enemy will be smashed; victory will be ours, was no mere slogan. It was the conviction of every soldier and of every Soviet man at the front and in the rear. And even though much is being said about the war years that is negative—and particularly about the initial period of the war—I cannot think without enormous respect of all those who forged our victory, who defended their homeland with their breasts, and who gave their lives for the freedom and independence of their homeland.

Perhaps I was just lucky, but the people who walked the roads of war with me were worthy, and it is with great warmth that I recall both my comrades in arms in the machine gun company and the senior commanders.

[Khukholev] Yuriy Pavlovich, how do you regard the fact that so many years have passed since the victory over fascism, and yet the word, war, has not been relegated to history? It has remained a real concept: war and world war

[Maksimov] I think this is very sad and unworthy of an intelligent mankind, when half a century after the world conflagration the danger of world war has not been removed, but instead military conflicts remain a reality of life for many states in the world community. Today many countries are involved directly or indirectly in military conflicts. Hundreds of thousands of people are fighting and killing one another. Millions are preparing for war, weapons in hand. Tens of millions are working at war—creating the means for armed warfare. And the whole of mankind lives under the threat of possible nuclear war. And today, even without the use of nuclear weapons, war on the scale of, for example, the continent of Europe would be impossible to predict in terms of its disastrous consequences. For inevitably atomic power stations, chemical works, reservoirs, and the dams of hydropower stations would be destroyed. Without doubt, there must never again be war. It cannot be allowed to happen. Peace on earth must be maintained and strengthened.

[Khukholev] Yuriy Pavlovich, here I would like to ask you a question that crops up frequently in letters from our listeners. As someone who took part in the Great Patriotic War and as a high-ranking military leader, how do you regard the issue of reducing and eliminating nuclear missile weapons. For clearly they cannot be reduced to the bottom line so long as a potential enemy retains such troops [as heard].

[Maksimov] I believe people throughout the world are fed up with the mistrust on both sides and with the constant threat of danger. At the present time masses of weapons have been manufactured and stockpiled. This does not help to strengthen the mutual security of states. Quite the reverse, it encourages suspicion and excessive caution in attitudes to one another. Arms reduction is an urgent requirement and behest of the times. There is simply no alternative to this approach. Both as a military man who has spent only just under half a century serving in the Armed Forces and as a citizen of the first socialist state in the world—a state that began its history with the decree on peace—I welcome this first genuine major step toward strengthening peace on earth, the elimination of medium and shorter-range missiles. I believe this step will not be the last in the reduction of the strategic nuclear forces of the USSR and the United States. The prospects are for a total renunciation by all countries of war and arms.

Clearly it is worth telling our listeners that the tasks of eliminating medium-range missiles are being tackled by the strategic missile troops with all due organization and with the highest degree of responsibility. There was not a single breakdown and not a single complaint from the U.S. inspectors. In line with the treaty, to date we have destroyed 240 combat and 36 training missiles, including 72 missiles using the launch method. These launches confirmed the high reliability of our weapons, displayed the sure work of the Soviet missile troops officers, and their high degree of professional training. They also

confirmed that we are providing a reliable guarantee that the possible unsanctioned use of missiles and their nuclear warheads is ruled out. However, when talking about arms reductions, one cannot fail to take account of all the complexities of this process. The reduction of armed forces and armaments, and the desire for peace is a two-way street. And success will be determined by both sides making a contribution. And therefore, it is essential to display very great vigilance at every stage in this process, to put the interests of the security of our country and its allies above all else, and to ensure unqualified maintenance of parity.

[Khukholev] Yuriy Pavlovich, we know the published figures for the cut in our military budget, the output of military hardware, and the strength of our Armed Forces. But what is actually going on just now, if you can decipher the percentages of our military reductions?

[Maksimov] The press, radio, and other mass media have already covered this matter quite adequately. And therefore all I can say is that the percentage of our military cuts can be deciphered easily: Embodied in them is a real improvement in the material postion of Soviet people. In particular, substantial amounts of money unlocked following the reduction in military spending have already been channelled into tackling health care problems and several other social needs.

[Khukholev] I have another question whose topic is linked to the previous one: Not so long ago I was visiting a guards unit of the Strategic Rocket Forces that was commanded by a splendid commander, Aleksandr Viktorovich Gribov. Naturally, the unit was on combat duty. Life in that garrison was very tense: There was a lot of pressure on the troops. The commanders of subunits—I mean by that, for instance, companies—work virtually without a day off. And, of course, much more than 8 or 10 hours a day. And in the near future, with the reduction in the officer body, as I understand it, this pressure will increase. That is, they'll be worked into the ground.

[Maksimov] Well, that's not quite true. True enough, the work involved in the country's security—and essentially officers are on constant duty—is regulated with difficulty. But all the same, we are striving to ensure that there is enough time not just for service, but also for private needs, for self-education and the family, because this forms part of the conditions that are essential to ensure that an officer subsequently operates properly when on duty with such a terrible weapon. At the same time there are some exceptions. But there shouldn't be. These might be the exception, but not the rule.

And now I would like to continue talking about reductions in the Armed Forces and weapons, and about the need to tackle the tasks of combat preparedness. I have already said that for us the task of maintaining the proper level of troops' combat preparedness, their ability to repel possible aggression remains uppermost, even in conditions of reduced armaments. Soviet people can rest assured of their security. In the conditions of a reduction in the Armed Forces and the military budget, and of the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles, we are doing all we possibly can to guarantee a high level of vigilance, precise organization of combat duty, and the maintenance of weapons and military hardware in constant readiness for use in combat. And that will continue to be the case for as long as the danger of war remains the stern reality of our time. The attainment of a high level of combat readiness and the maintenance of strategic military parity is to be ensured above all through the orientation of the entire defense organization on predominantly qualitative parameters, both in the realm of science and technology and in the composition of the Armed Forces. Soviet troops are ready to fulfill with honor and in any conditions their military, patriotic, and internationalistic duty to defend reliably their socialist homeland and our allies. The soldiers of the rocket troops hold sacred the glorious combat traditions of the men at the front. They are persistently improving their military skills, are tempering themselves spiritually and physically, and are doggedly mastering the science of winning. They go on duty with vigilance and a total sense of responsibility. Soviet rocket troops unfailingly display political maturity and high moral and combat qualities. I am sure that nobillity, humaneness, and valor will always be the trademarks of the defenders of socialism. I gained this conviction on Victory Day, 9 May 1945, and this has been with me throughout my 44 years of postwar service. It has been reinforced by the daily feat of the Soviet soldier who safeguards peace on earth.

I would like to take this opportunity to cordially greet on all-union radio all veterans of the Great Patriotic war—those who helped attain victory with weapons in their hands and those who selflessly toiled at the rear—on this wonderful, bright festival, the day of victory of the Soviet people over Fascist Germany. Allow me, on behalf of all soldiers in the rocket troops, to wish them, and also all Soviet people, a calm sky over their heads, happiness, good health, and all the very best. Happy holiday, dear comrades!

Tretyak Interviewed

LD0905153189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 9 May 89

[Interview with Army General Ivan Moiseyevich Tretyak, commander in chief of the Air Defense Forces and deputy defense minister, by correspondent Vladimir Korablev on the occasion of Victory Day; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Korablev] I believe I would not be mistaken in saying that many men who were at the front love the song from the film Belorusskiy Vokzal [Belorussian Station] and love singing it. It contains some lines about there being a single victory: A single one for all, and hang the cost! About this cost, there are frequent articles in the foreign press that claim that our

operations were distinctive for their stereotypes. The result was that the cost of victory for us was unjustifiably high. What can you say about this?

[Tretyak] There is no such thing as a bloodless victory in major wars. Yes, our losses were significantly higher than those of fascist Germany. We did, of course, have operations that were not prepared in the best possible way and that were carried out badly. There were unjustified losses. The causes behind our temporary failures and defeats have been studied. We have spoken of them, and still do, openly. In the prewar years our military theoreticians Shaposhnikov, Svechin, Triandafillov, Yegorov, and Tukhachevskiy had worked out matters of strategy and operational art quite well, and particularly the theory of the offensive operation in depth. Understandably, not everything could have been foreseen before the war. Furthermore, the advanced thinking of the groundlessly repressed military heads was either rejected or hushed up. And therefore, during the war it was necessary to review many operational-strategic and tactical views on ways of preparing for combat actions and their all-around support. In short, the war taught us a great deal. I can't recount everything in a short conversation, but I will stress that the elaboration of strategic offensive operations by a group of fronts, the methods of forcing the enemy's defenses using all arms of the services, the development of success in the subsequent surrounding and elimination of enemy groupings, and the choice of direction for the main thrust—all of this was planned and conducted in such a way as to carry out the tasks set with minimum losses.

We never ever had pushover victories. Any assertions that our operations were distinguished by their cliched and stereotypical nature are quite without foundation. The Supreme Command, the commanders of the fronts and the chiefs of staff always set about drawing up their plans in a creative fashion, thoroughly researching the various options. And evidence of this are the rout of the Hitlerite hordes outside Moscow, Stalingrad, and Kursk; the battle for the Dnepr; the Belorussian, Visla-Oder, Iasi-Kishinev, Berlin, and many other operations. That is the truth, and any falsification of it is doomed to fail.

Shabanov Interviewed

LD0905222189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0645 GMT on 9 May broadcasts an interview with Army General Vitaliy Mikhalylovich Shabanov, deputy USSR defense minister. He first discusses the wartime exploints of the Soviet defenders of the motherland in a talk pegged to Victory Day. On the subject of the USSR's allies he says:

"We must never forget the contribution of our allies, although, of course, it is the Soviet Union and its Armed Forces that played a role of decisive significance here and there can be no doubt about that; it is something we always emphasize. Nevertheless, I think that the cooperation within the framework of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, born at that time, the time of war, is undoubtedly an example of the kind of political thinking that makes it possible to solve very complex tasks, tasks which I would term amazing as far as the variety and organization of military operations and deliveries are concerned.

"I am bound to say, I think, that the friendship between the peoples of the United States of America and the Soviet Union was born at that time. Unfortunately subsequently, during the postwar period, the period of the cold war, all this was quite thoroughly disturbed. I think that the present day new political thinking which, in essence, is making itself felt in all countries and various political circles will make it possible, I think, to restore what was born during those days of joint combat operations, the days of the great victory over German fascism.

"Last year I had occasion to accompany both a delegation from the United States headed by Defense Secretary Mr. Carlucci and a delegation from France, headed by Mr. Chevenement. We saw for ourselves that these contacts are very important events, not just in the relations between our armed forces, but also, I think, in interstate relations.

"We showed them state-of-the-art fighting equipment, including our new strategic bomber; we showed them new guided missile ships; we showed them how our Armed Forces undergo training, of course not on a large scale, but on the battalion level exercises, but I think that mutual contacts of this kind convinced us that there is, that there is beginning to appear trust toward each other. This seems to me to be a very important factor.

"Nevertheless, evidently a great deal has yet to be done so that this trust becomes irreversible."

Shabanov went on to say the main aim of restructuring in the Army is to improve it qualitatively, which must be accompanied by a democratic discussion of important aspects in the spirit of glasnost. Glasnost also plays a role in the attainment of trust between armies and states. Secrets will have to remain, as is the case everywhere else.

The leadership of the Ministry of Defense has repeatedly replied to the issue of whether the USSR's unilateral reductions will not adversely affect the country's defense capability and this it did via the mass media, Shabanov says. Armed forces reductions facilitate the attainment of trust between states. Our unilateral reductions pursue the aim of giving momentum to multilateral reductions. "To safeguard our defense capability we now have to carry out, naturally, qualitative improvements to combat training, we have to enhance discipline and responsibility at all levels and I think that in the final analysis and in these conditions we will succeed in safeguarding the essential defense capability without a doubt."

Shabanov said reductions will result in resources and production capabilities becoming available for civilian requirements. "One must say that at present already about 40 percent of the volume of defense industry's output is the production of consumer goods for civilians. Unfortunately hardly anyone knows about it and it is only recently that Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov said it in his statement."

Shabanov concluded by saying people's deputies from the Army will pursue the same goals as other newly elected deputies: to improve the standard of living in the USSR. He then greets all the war veterans and Armed Forces personnel.

Leaders Attend Ceremony

LD0905173989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1510 GMT 9 May 89

[Excerpts] War and labor veterans, the children and grandchildren of the defenders of Leningrad, and Army and Navy servicemen came to a meeting at the fraternal grave in the Piskarevskoye memorial cemetery, accompanied by solemn and mourning music, dedicated to the anniversary of victory. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, Politburo first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast Party Committee, took part in the ceremony. [passage omitted]

Thousands of citizens and guests of Kiev today filled the streets and squares. The festival centered around the glory park that stands on the bank of the Dnepr. [passage omitted] Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the wreath laying ceremony. [passage omitted]

In Minsk, thousands of people laid flowers on the monuments and obelisks to the defenders of the homeland. At the fraternal graves and military graveyards, there were commemorative meetings and requiems. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the ceremony of laying wreaths, flowers, and garlands. [passage omitted]

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